

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

A Systematic Study Including
Source Material

PART II

By

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of this book was published in 1934. Though copies of it have not been in the market for more than an year now, I regret I could not meet the need earlier owing to other preoccupations. In the present edition references to other literature on various topics dealt with in the book have been brought up to date and improvements short of overhauling the text have been effected. It is therefore hoped that readers will find in this an even more helpful guide to the study of Medieval history than in its predecessor. Since literature on the subject is already very vast, as well as fast growing, it may not be out of place to mention here the salient features of the present work. I cannot do this better than by summarizing the observations of some of those who were kind enough to assess the first edition of this book.

Rev. H. Hearn, S. J., while commending it observed, "This text-book is a real source of high and systematic knowledge. The intelligent use of this text-book will introduce the student to the genuine historical method." Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai found "The principal merit" of the work as "the skilful putting together of all available matter and weaving it into a connected account." C. S. S. in the *Journal of Indian History*, wrote, "The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book." While my reviewer in the *Indian Culture* criticised me with having treated my subject with "enlightened sympathy" and with having tapped "practically all the Historical sources available to him in English," I cannot claim to have done anything more.

As the book is the outcome of a real need felt by the author while teaching the subject, he has spared no pains to hold down the bewildering mass of material for the benefit of the more earnest students. At the same time care has been taken to represent all points of view on controversial topics, helping the reader to draw his own conclusions. In the words of Sir Oliver Lodge, I have acted on the motto "to know anything thoroughly nothing acce-

his must be excluded, with what result, it is for my impartial readers to judge.

My obligations to authors and works cited throughout the book is greater than I can specifically mention in this short Preface. The detailed references in the foot notes are intended to be guides to deeper study as less than acknowledgments of my sources.

Wilmington College, }
November, 1948. }

S. E. SHANNON.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

References have been further brought up-to-date in this edition.

S. E. S.

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GENEALOGY

AKBAR (1894-1984)



AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY [—] PERSIAN: (i) *Albār-al-nab* of Abū'l Fāz 'is the chief source of information regarding the birth, education, and early life of Jahāngīr. Its dates are particularly valuable. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VI, pp. 21-102.

(ii) *Talātāt-i Albār-al-nab* or *Talātāt-i* is a continuation of the above (1402-05). Extracts in *ibid.*, pp. 103-12.

(iii) *Talātāt-i Albār* of Mīrām-shāh has already been noticed. It supplements *Albār-i Fāz* up to 1605-6; but its dates are to be accepted with caution. Extracts in *ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 247-479.

(iv) *Wāqay-i Alud Bay* or *Wāqay-i Alud Bay* is valuable as the work of a servant of Abū'l Fāz who writes with intimate knowledge. Dowson points out that a note in Persian at the end of the MS. says: "Towards the close of Jahāngīr's reign he was honoured with the title of *Padshah Khān*. He died at the commencement of the reign of His Majesty Shāh Jahan, in the year 1040 B. Extract in *ibid.* vol. VI, pp. 150-58.

(v) *Farah-i Jahāngīr* or the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* (also called *Wāqay-i Jahāngīr*, *Tārīkh-i Sultān Shāh*, *Albār-al-nab*, *Jahāngīr-nāma*, etc.) is of considerable interest and value as the personal memoirs of the Emperor, mostly written by himself. It deals, however, with only the first eighteen years of his reign. Dowson speaks of it as a very rare work, almost unknown even in India itself. "It is a plain and apparently unpretentious record of all that its author deemed worthy of note. . . taken as a whole, the work is very interesting, and assuming that Jahāngīr is mainly responsible for its authorship, it proves him to have been a man of no common ability. He records his weaknesses and confesses his faults with candour and a personal of the work would leave a favourable impression both of his character and talents." Extracts in *ibid.*, pp. 254-281.

(vi) Four other sources may be briefly noticed together: (a) *Tarikh-i Wāqay-i Jahāngīr* of Mīrāmshāh; (b) *Asbāt-nāma-i J* of Mīrāmshāh; (c) *Mā'arif-i J* of Kamār Khān; and (d) *Jahāngīr-nāma-i J* of ' Shāhīr Khān. All these are valuable as works written during the Mughal period, and as supplementing other sources. Extracts in *ibid.*, pp. 292-322.

II. EUROPEAN. (C) JESUIT.—The *Commentaries of Fr. Martini*; and *De Jureta Fluminis* (vol. III, Bk. 1, chaps. 14-53). These two deal with Jahāngir's early life down to end of 1609.

(d) OTHER EUROPEAN.—(a) *Pandua's Pilgrimes* (1625) contains accounts of various travellers (Mackenzie, 1903). Of Havelock report, Dr. Beni Prasad remarks that it forms a first hand, and, on the whole, thoroughly reliable source of information; but he observes none on the administrative system and the condition of the people should be received with caution.

(b) Sir Thomas Roe's *Embassy* (Pondy, Hakluyt—2 vols. 1899) contains vivid and picturesque descriptions; but, like the above, to be received with care, especially when he writes of things beyond his personal observation.

(c) Terry's *Voyage* (Pondy vol. IX, pp. 1-54 of reprint of 1777) is a valuable supplement to Sir T. Roe's account.

(d) De Laet's *Description of India and Fragment of Indian History—1625* (Heyland and Baneson, *The Empire of the Great Mogul, Tazkireh-e Borjey*, 1920). "It is a complete gazetteer of Jahāngir's India. Although it is a compilation, it is a faithful and reliable compilation" (Baneson).

(e) Nicolas Manucci's *Storia de Mogor* (1683-1795)—Tr. by William Irvine (John Murray, London, 4 vols.) Vol. I contains an account of Prince Salim (p. 111), Jahāngir's reign (pp. 189-70), Nur Jahan (pp. 141-4), and Belkuf (pp. 173-81). "All this is based on rumour and is almost entirely worthless for historical purposes." (Beni Prasad).

B. SECONDARY: (1) *Elephanta's History of India*—(5th ed. by E. B. Cowell, pp. 580-74). "In spite of its imperfections it still remains the best short account of Jahāngir's reign in English." (Beni Prasad).

(a) Beni Prasad's *History of Jahāngir*—2nd edition (The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1931)—is an exhaustive and critical study from all sources. Pp. 441-77 give a detailed Bibliography. Says about European accounts in general, "Their unfamiliarity with the country and its politics, their ignorance of Persian, their prejudices and their credulity made it impossible for them rightly to interpret what they saw" (p. 425).

(b) Mackenzie's *The Jewels and the Great Mogul*, ch. V, pp. 69-93, deals with the Jewels as well as other Europeans at the court of Jahāngir, 1605-27.

(iv) *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (about the Relations of Pt. Ferrão -Gouveia) Ed. by Sir Duncan Brown and E. Power (Montford: 1901).

(v) Rev. H. Hume, *Jahangir and the Portuguese*, a paper read at the 9th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lucknow in December 1905 (Calcutta, 1921).

(vi) Francis Gladwin's '*The Hist. of Jahangir*' ed. by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1930).

(vii) Article 'I' 'A description of Bengal in 1609 A.D.' (Tr. of a Persian account from the diary of Abul Fazl, a famous statesman of Akbar's House, a brother of Mir Jahan) by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Bengal, Past & Present*, April-June 1926).

2. 'The Emperor Jahangir's 2nd Visit to Aomori' by M. S. Commensal (*J. R. H. S.*, Sept. 1938).

3. '*Milam-i-Jahangiri*' by Thakur Ram Singh, (*The Journal of Indian History* for Aug. 1928 & Aug. 1929.)

4. 'Bengal under Jahangir' by Sir Rama Sharma (*J. I. H.*, Vol. XII, 3; XIII, 3; and XIV, 1).

5. 'Jahangir's Religious Policy', Sir Rama Sharma (*Indian Culture*, IV, 3, pp. 105-11, January 1931).

6. 'East India Co. and the Mughal Authorities during Jahangir's Reign,' T. C. Joshi, *J. I. H.*, 1-2 (April-Aug., 1942).

CHAPTER VII

FRUITS OF THE EMPIRE

"The prince is permitted to make or sell wine or any other prohibited liquor which remains entirely, though I myself am addicted to wine-bibbing."—*Decree of Jahangir*

"Mir Jahan managed the whole affairs of the realm . . . and nothing was wanting to make her an absolute monarch but the naming of the Akbar to her name."—*Farnameh-i Wāsiṭ-i Jahangir*

The reign of Jahangir (1605-27) saw the fruition of the Empire which Akbar had so gloriously reared out of the slender resources left to him by his ill-fated father. The past half-century of remarkable reconstruction had established the Empire on secure foundations, which were not to be shaken at least for a century, in spite of numerous rebellions and wars of succession. More than anything else, Akbar's policy of conciliation and concord, begun with his marriage with the Amber princess, had in Dr. Beni Prasad's words, "symbolised the dawn of a new era in Indian politics; it gave the country a line of remarkable continuity; it secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced."¹ Add to this, the legacy of peace and wealth that Akbar had bequeathed to his immediate successor, and we have a fairly complete picture of the favourable auspices under which Jahangir opened his prosperous career.

However, as the character of our history at each stage is but the reflect of the *Emperor's* own character, we find reflected in this period also the personal aims and virtues of Jahangir and his consort.

It is convenient to divide our study under the following heads :

I. Early Career—A Rivalry; II. Accession and Outlook; III. Wars of Conquest; IV. Mir Jahan and Reactions; V. Jahangir and the Europeans; and VI. Achievements and Failures of Jahangir.

I. EARLY CAREER—A RIVALRY

The early career of Prince Salim up to the death of Akbar, already traced under the previous reign, may be here briefly resumed.

1. *History of Jahangir*, p. 2.

Saltik was born on Wednesday noon, August 30, 1848, in the twentieth year of Akbar's reign. Akbar was at that time twenty-seven years of age. Saltik's mother was the Begum princess (daughter of Raja Mir Mir Ali of Amrit), whom Akbar had married in January 1842. All previous children of the Emperor having died in their infancy, he had bestowed the blessings of the famous Sheikh Salih Chishti, after whom the new child was called Muhammad Salih Saltik.¹ Of the other children, Prince Mirza was born on June 7, the same year, and Prince Mirza Ali on September 6, 1847. Both died in their prime of youth owing to excessive drinking.²

Though Akbar was himself dissolute, he never neglected the education of his children. After their return

(a) Education. — On October 25, 1852, the princes were placed under the guardianship of the best scholars and tutors of the age. The most notable of these, who moulded the character and studies of Saltik at a very impressionable age (in 1852), was 'Abdus Salik Khin, the son of Baran Khin. 'One of the best minds of the age,' he was a 'master of Persian, Arabic, Turkish (Sudari) and Hindi. . . . A vigorous prose-writer and a facile versifier, he permeated his name in contemporary literature.' His translation of Akbar's *Memoirs* into Persian has already been mentioned. Under his able guardianship, Prince Saltik 'learned Turkish which served him later as the medium of conversation with John Hawkins, and as the means of confidential consultation with one of his servants, when held in custody by Mirza Khin. He picked up a fair acquaintance with Hindi and delighted in Hindi songs. He developed a somewhat poetic disposition, pursued his skill in versification, and stored his talk with poetic quotations.' [By nature as well as nurture Saltik possessed a strong and wide appreciation, which however was later spent by excessive indulgence and drink.]

1. 'I never heard my father, whether in his rage or in his sober moments, call me Muhammad Saltik or Salih Saltik, but always *Shahin Bakh*.'—*Jahangir*.

2. E. & O., op. cit., VI, pp. 10, 114.

3. 'As I have a profound disposition, I sometimes intentionally, sometimes accidentally, compose couplets and quatrains.—*Jahangir*'. *Pen Friend*, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

According to the strict custom in the dynasty, the princes were early associated with high public duties in order to train them for higher responsibilities. But this practice was not without its dangers. Rivaling officers of the highest rank at the privies, with practically unlimited resources at their command, often tilted their ambitions beyond the bounds of loyalty, and ended in there a loss device for permanent independence. Thus in the year of crisis, 1221, both Salim and Ibrahim were placed in command, though nominal, of large divisions of the army. Following this, Salim was placed in similar charge of the departments of justice and public accounts.¹

At the age of fifteen Salim was betrothed to his cousin, Mita Bibi, daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber. The marriage took place on February 12, 1552, the customary parties being held at two o'clock at Amber. Both the Hindu and Muslim wedding ceremonies were observed. A daughter was born on April 26, 1556; she was named Salim-un-nissa Begum. Although she lived up to sixty years of age (d. 1643), she played no part in history. The second child, Prince Mirza, born on August 5, 1557, was destined for a more prominent though tragic role. Mita Bibi came to be called Salim Begum after this. She committed suicide.

1. Now, in the face of such examples, European writers often misrepresent Mughal history, as illustrated by the following passage in W. Crozier's *The N. W. Provinces of India*, pp. 122-3:—

"His (Akbar's) immediate descendants, when they were educated at all, were trained in the old Muzumbar style—the rudiments of the Koran, subtiles of theology, the Ash veltages of legal education were their mental food. In early boyhood they lived amidst the vain groups and spurious intrigues of palace women who filled the harem. As they grew up, the jealousy of rival parties led to their taking a leading part in the politics of the capital. The herd of learned scholars and advisers, the palace gang, were prone to their acquiring a competent knowledge of administration. A prince who took too proper part in the council of the State was suspected of intriguing against the monarch, so he was often pushed off to a distant province where the same offenders accused his inactivity. The local ruler acted as his leader, and took care to humiliate him and prevent him from meddling in the conduct of affairs. He was better pleased to see him waste his time in dissipation than to educate him in statescraft."

"Such facile writing," says Basil Franks, "comprised of ignorance and prejudice, is responsible for much of the prevalent misapprehension of Mughal history."—*History of Jahangir*, pp. 22-4 n. 42.

in a fit of melancholia, in 1804, when, according to Inayat-Allah Salim 'remained for some days absorbed in grief for her loss'.¹

Muzaffar, Salim's illegitimate son, grew considerably. In 1806 he had married Jagat Goshai, or Jogh Bhai (daughter of Uday Singh) and others. According to Father Xaver, in 1807 Prince Salim had no less than twenty 'lawful wives'. His marriage with Mihar-ullah (Mir Jahan) will be dealt with later. "Cannibals named the heirs to the monstrous number of 300".² Prince Farooz was born of Shihab-u-Jamal on Oct. 2, 1809. Khurram (meaning Joyant; Shih Jahan) was born on Jan. 6, 1810, of Jagat Goshai (Jogh Bhai). Shahr-yih was born of a concubine in 1805.³

In 1817 Salim was elevated to the rank of 15,000, while Muzaffar and Shahr-yih held only ranks of 7,000 and 5,000 respectively.

(c) Promotion. In 1826 they received other honours, and promotion to 12,000, 9,000 and 7,000 in order. But though during the next thirteen years Prince Salim lived in close association with Akbar, "the prevailing want of political intrigue and desire gradually divided their relation, estranged their hearts, and ultimately involved them in a bitter wrangle".⁴

The story of Salim's revolt has already been recounted in detail in its proper context. As early as 1821 he showed an indignant haste to succeed to his father's

(d) Revolt. power and position. Badshah accused him of poisoning Akbar, but, says Bert Prasad, "the suspicion was unjust, but the claim (of Akbar) was a serious one. As a vacancy of the throne came within the range of possibility, Salim set his agents to watch the movements of his brother Muzaffar".⁵ The latter died of his own stomach on May 2, 1829.

When Akbar left for the south, Salim was in charge of the north and particularly commissioned to invade Mysore. But he misused the confidence and chose to rebel. His revolt kept the British in tension for two years, but it never seriously jeopardised the stability of the government. Akbar's personality and his brilliant successes had won him the enthusiastic admiration and affection of his

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 112.

2. Bert Prasad, op. cit., pp. 201.

3. Ibid., p. 11.

4. Ibid., p. 36.

5. Ibid., p. 42.

subjects. His vast resources in men, money and materials, were more than enough to stamp out any rising within a short time. But his paternal tenderness kept him from making short work with Salim. The Prince, on his part, was also aware of the weakness of his position and shrunk from carrying matters to extremity. He hesitated, and temporised, and occasionally even shook off the influence of his favourites and submitted to his father.

Nevertheless, in 1671, he had assumed independence, set up a mock Court at Allahabad, appropriated 30 lakhs of rupees from the treasury of Bihar, and bestowed dignities and titles on his supporters. He had gathered together a force of 30,000 men, with the only object of 'paying his respects to his father'.¹ But Akbar's dignified self-command soon brought him to his senses and he was reconciled with the government of Bengal and Orissa. Here is Indrapati-Raj's testimony —

When the Emperor was at Allahabad (Agra), the Prince wrote to request the honour of an audience, and proceeded so far as Bikaner for the purpose, but some doubts were suggested to him by some ill-considered persons and he failed to advance any further. His Majesty was so much made aware of this circumstance, that he wrote to the Prince, that, "if he were sincere in his wish to pay his respects, he ought to display his confidence by doing so alone, and discuss his attendance to their Highness, &c. on the contrary, supposes withheld him, he had better return to Allahabad, there to reassure his heart, and again to Court when he was able to do so with full grace and confidence." The Prince, stung at this kind yet disabused communication, instantly despatched Mir Saif-uz-Jahan, who was the chief judiciary of the Imperial dominions, and His Majesty's agent with the Prince, to his angry father, charged with the most intemperate apology, and relating to the Mir's own observation in testimony of his sense of duty and allegiance. He then set towards Allahabad, and meanwhile an Imperial Jewels was issued, anointing him with the government of Bengal and Orissa, and directing him to despatch his officers to take possession of those two provinces. Raja Mir Singh was, at the same time, ordered to transfer the provinces, and to return to Court.²

Despite this, however, Salim again lapsed into his rebellious ways. This occasioned the commanding of Akbar's Fard from the north, and his shameful assassination by the agent of the intemperate Prince. Details thereof have already been given. This tragedy was enacted in August 1682.

1. *Tahsilat Akbar-nama*, E. & O., VI, p. 108.

Though Salim deserved no such punishment, "the former and statement in Akbar concerns the judge."^(vii)

(viii) Reconciliation. Durrani was first walking into the gates on an object of his own voice. Salim's children were too young to supersede him. Besides, Salim was still the favourite of the harem. So, as Ishtiyak-ullah has recorded, 'The Sultanah Salim Begum, having interceded between His Majesty and the young Prince Salim, appeased the monarch to the worked exercise of paternal affection, while at the same time she also procured for Salim the pardon of Akbar's august mother. When the Prince approached the capital, that venerable mother proceeded some days' journey to meet him, and brought him to her own private abode. Even His Majesty, to soothe his illustrious son, advanced several steps to active life. . . . After a short interval, His Majesty conferred on him the royal gladiolus, which is the mean source of ornament to the Court and sovereignty, and the chief light of the pomp of royalty.'^(viii)

In 1603, when he was asked for a second time to march on Meerut, Salim again procrastinated and temporised.

(ix) Plan to supersede Salim. Finally, he made towards Aitshabad under the pretext of collecting forces; and again reverted to his incorrigible ways. There was evidently no end to Akbar's

anxieties in his last declining age. His great courtiers and friends had died one after another: Mir Bai in 1594, followed closely by Tahir Mir and Bhagwan Das. Sheikh Mahabub (father of Abu'l Fazel and Faizi) in 1598; Faizi in 1595, Abu'l Fazel in 1603. In this broken state, Akbar's mind was tortured by disappointment at the ungrateful and treacherous conduct of his bar-appears. Naturally, the daughter of the amission, under these circumstances turned to Prince Khurshid (Salim's eldest son). He was the nephew of Mirza Mirza Singh, and son-in-law of Mirza Asaf Khan—two of the most powerful grandees of the Empire. Khurshid was seventeen years of age, handsome in appearance, agreeable in manners, and possessed an irreproachable character. He was only too glad to find such energetic champions. But it is impossible to say how far Akbar countenanced this plot to supersede his favourite son.

He made one last attempt (in Aug. 1604) to convert him into submission, or compel him into final surrender. But the ends inter-

1. Raw Pressed, op. cit., p. 35.

ward. Indignant Nature impeded the progress of his aims, the imminent death of his aged mother, Maryam Mahal, necessitated his sudden retreat to Agra.

Prince Salim was quick to apprehend the danger he was in. He found it expedient to follow his father to the capital, to share in the family bereavement. After the interchange of ceremonial graces Akbar reprimanded him severely and placed him in confinement under the care of physicians. Wine and evil company had damaged his mind, and hence he was deprived of both for a while. Salim passed his long days in humiliation and repentance. Close on the heels of these events came Akbar's last illness, and finally death on October 27, 1605.

Of the conspiracy that surrounded Akbar's deathbed we have already spoken. Only the main circumstances

(a) Failure of Plot
may be here recounted. In the end the plot to assassinate Salim was frustrated in the following manner, as described by Asaf Beg:—

"During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khir-i-Azam (Mirza Asaf Khan), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted with Raja Man Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Salim, Khir-i-Emperor. They were both vested in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salim), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respects to Court. This conspiracy was revealed to Salim by his friend Mirza Karim. So that, through the endeavours of that faithful friend and devoted well-wisher, the error of those perfidious men was averted as usual . . .

"When the new attempt of those wretches had thus been brought to light . . . they were obliged to throw off all dissimulation . . . The Khir-i-Azam and Raja Man Singh sat down, and calling all the nobles began to consult with them, and went so far as to say, "The character of the high and mighty Prince Salim Salim is well-known, and the Emperor's fondling towards him are notorious; for he by no means wishes him to be his successor. We must all agree to place Salim, Khir-i-Emperor upon the throne."

"When this was said, Saqul Khan, who was one of the great nobles, and concurred with the royal house, and descended from an ancient and illustrious Maghal family, cried out, "Of what do you speak, that is the substance of a Prince like Salim Salim, we should place him on upon the throne?" This is contrary to law and customs of the Chaghatai Tartars, and shall never be." . . . The assembly broke up, and each went his own way.

"Raja Man Singh Kachhwaha, with all his followers, immediately went to guard the treasury, and Mirza Khan left the fort, and retiring to his

own residence, took steps to assemble the faithful of Shah and his own followers People began to flock in, each striving to be the first to arrive (where Prince Salim was), till at last, in the evening, the Sultan's Army came in great shame and paid his respects. The Prince took not the least notice of his disobedience, and bestowed all royal kindness upon him.

When Miru Singh saw the danger in the aspect of affairs, he took Sultan Khara with him to his own place, and prepared boats, intending to escape the next day to Bengal Although the royal boat (of Salim) was vexed at hearing that, yet he sent Madhav Singh (Miru Singh's brother) to restrain and bring him back His Majesty (Jahangir) gave his promise, with the utmost grace and kindness, that no harm should happen to him from any one The next day King Miru Singh came in Court, and brought Sultan Khara to the feet of his royal father. His Majesty treated him with the greatest kindness, and clanking him to his house, visited his son. When His Majesty had concluded that business, he passed some days in receiving and distributing alms, till at last the day arrived he had to attend the throne.¹

II. ACCESSION AND OUTLOOK

According to Dr. Beni Prasad,² Salim mounted his father's throne in Agra Fort on Thursday, Oct. 31, 1605, when

(1) Accession. . . . he had completed thirty-six years of his age.³

The *Wāqīyat-Jahangīrī*, however, says: "On Thursday, the 31st Jumada-i Sani, 1014 *Hijra* (17th October, 1605), I ascended the throne at Agra, in the thirty-sixth year of my age."⁴

[He assumed the name and title of Miru-d-din Muhammad Jahāngīr Fārahīn Gāzī,⁵ and as the words of Anad Beg, began to win the hearts of all the people and to rearrange the withered world. He bestowed many of the greatest nobles and powerful ministers and brave youths with honourable titles and acceptable dignities; for the tranquillisation of the hearts of his people he suspended the Chain of Justice with golden bells, and removed the rest of oppression from the hearts of his people In the first few days he repealed and gave up all tyrant duties and fees, the poll-tax on Hindus and tax on crystal property, and remitted them throughout the whole of the hereditary dominions. He also remitted and removed, root and branch, the whole of the duties and imposts levied on the produce of the soil or of mines, so that throughout the whole of Hindustan, and

1. *Wāqīyat*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 142-43.

2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 126, 131, 132 n. 1.

3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 134.

wherever the parades of the Emperor attended, no one could so much as name them.¹

A word of comment is needed on the bestowal of some of the 'Innumerable Titles and exalted dignities'

(a) Comment. referred to above. Under the circumstances that beset the new regime there were bound to be some persons who came to the fore only on account of indiscriminate support of their patron. The most notorious example of this was the promotion of Sir Singh Bhandela, the murderer of Akbar Feroz. He was raised to the 'dignity' of a commander of 1,000. On the other hand, Akbar Bahadur Khan, the son of the murdered victim, was worthily elevated though, in the first instance, only to the rank of 1,000. A third accession to the nobility worthy of mention is Mirza Ghous Beg, a Persian adventurer who was destined to become famous as *Imad-ul-daulah*, the father of Feroz Jahir. At present he was only a commander of 1,000, Khan-i-Burhan Amir Koka and Raja Bala Singh suffered inevitable eclipse.

With regard to the Chain of Justice, there was nothing propitious about it, despite its being called 'silly' by Jaldag's European critics. Dowson writes: "In allusion to the silly chain of justice which the Emperor tells us he fastened from the palace at Agra to a stone pillar near the Jamna . . . It does not appear that it was ever shaken, and probably was never meant for anything but parade." However, he further points out that "The practice was a mere imitation of what was attributed to one of the early Chinese Emperors, Yu-to; and Hsiang Anangpail had already done the same at Delhi."² There is nothing more 'silly' in this than is the symbolic use of the race to keep order in the British House of Commons, or the representation of the globe on the sceptres of kings, and a pair of scales, etc. as emblems of justice.³

¹ I established twelve ordinances to be observed, and to be the common

(b) The Twelve rule of practice throughout my dominions
institutions.

1. Ibid., pp. 173-4.

2. Ibid., p. 360n. Vincent Smith also calls it "a piece of silly tradition" — cf. *ibid.*, p. 375. Ibid. "The Chain of Justice" by H. C. Raychaudhary in *Indian Culture*, VII, 1, July 1940, pp. 1-8.

3. "The first order which I issued was for the setting up of a Chain of Justice, so that if the officers of the courts of Justice should, left to the investigation of the complaints of the oppressed, and in granting them

1. *Prohibition of taxes (Zakāt)* : I forbade the levy of duties under the names of *laughal* and *mir-kahai*, together with the taxes of all descriptions which the *shikdars* of every *zila* and *suba* had been in the habit of exacting for their own benefit.

2. *Regulations about highway robbery and theft*. In those roads which were the scenes of robbery and theft, and in those portions of roads which were far from habitations, the *shikdars* of the neighbourhood were to build a *bari* or a *mogha*, and they were to sink a well, to be the means of promoting cultivation, and to induce people to work there. If these places were near to *shikda* lands, the Government officials were to carry out these provisions.

3. *Free inheritance of property of deceased persons* : First—No one was to open the packages of merchandise on the roads without their consent. Secondly—When any *shikda* or *Mosselman* died in any part of my dominions his property and effects were to be allowed to descend by inheritance, without interference from any one. When there was no heir, then officers were to be appointed to take charge of the property and to expend it, according to the law of India, in building mosques and wells, in repairing broken bridges, and in digging tanks and wells.

4. *Of wine and all kinds of intoxicating liquors* : Wine and every sort of intoxicating liquor by *intajidin*, and must neither be made nor sold, although I myself have been accustomed to take wine, and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the fifth year of my age, have regularly partaken of it.

5. *Prohibition of the taking possession of houses and of visiting of the women and sons of criminals* : No one was to take up his abode in the dwelling of another. I made an order prohibiting every one from cutting off the noses and ears of criminals for any offence, and I made a vow to heaven that I would never inflict this punishment on any one.

6. *Prohibition of ghosla* : The officers of the *shikda* lands and the *shikdars* are not to take the lands of the subjects by force, and cultivate them on their own account. The collectors of the *shikda* lands and the *shikdars* are not without permission to form connections with the people in their districts.

7. *Building of hospitals and appointment of physicians to attend the sick* : Hospitals were to be built in large cities, and doctors were to be appointed, to attend the sick. The expenses were to be paid from the royal treasury.

8. *Prohibition of slaughter of animals on certain days* : In *Shivaratra*

orders, the injured persons might cross to this chain and shake it, and so give notice of their wrongs. I ordered that the chain should be made of pure gold, and be thirty gae long, with sixty bells upon it. The weight of it was four *Shikharas* more, equal to thirty-two *mas* of *Lak*. One end was fixedly attached to a battlement of the fort of *Agra*, the other to a stone column on the bank of the stream' (*Farqāh-i-Fakhrajī*, E. & D. pp. 38, p. 394).

of my honorable father, I decreed that every year from the 10th Abib¹ I would, on his birthday, no mosque should be decorated for a number of days corresponding to the years of my age. In every week, also, the days were to be assigned from slaughter: Thursday, the day of my accession, and Sunday, the birthday of my father.

9. *Project fund* is Sunday: The lay father used to hold *hunder* (bited) and to pay a great respect, because it is dedicated to the great Lordship, and because it is the day on which the creation was begun. Throughout my dominions this was to be one of the days in which killing animals is intentional.

10. *General confirmation of manhood and rights*: I issued a general order that the manhood and rights of my father's servants should be confirmed, and afterwards I decreed the old manhood according to the merit of each individual.

11. *Confirmation of alms lands*: The alms and waqfiah² lands throughout my dominions, which are devoted to the purposes of prayer and justice, I confirmed according to the terms of the grant in the hands of each grantee. *Atalia* *Shah-Jahan*, who is of the purest race of Salyids or Hindustani, and held the office of *Shah* in the days of my father, was directed to look after the poor every day.

12. *Assembly for all prisoners in Jery and in prison of every kind*: All prisoners who had been long confined in Jery or shut up in prisons, I ordered to be set free.³

Sir Henry Elliott's comments on these ordinances give a wholly distorted picture of Jahangir and the Mughals. The prospects of a reign, so well begun were marred by the rebellion of the Emperor's eldest son, Prince Khurram.

(Khurram, well a very popular figure, "Terry describes him as, "a gentleman of a very lovely presence and a fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people," that no Sultana's women of Turan, he was owner of, deliver, do, the very love and delight of them. . . . He was a man who consoled himself with one wife, which with all love and care accompanied him in all his straits, and therefore he would never take any wife but herself, though the liberty of his religion did admit of plurality." "With all his personal charms, natural talents, fine education and manners etc," David Prasad writes, "He was an immature youth of fiery temper and weak religiously—just the type of mind, which, joined with the advantages of high station

1. Ibid., pp. 224-27.

2. Ibid., pp. 438-439.

3. Cited by Smith, op. cit., p. 298.

and popularity, forms the most convenient point for intrigue and conspiracy."¹

On April 6, 1885, evening, he escaped from such confinement under the pretext of visiting his grandfather Akbar's tomb, really he made his way to the Punjab gathering troops with the help of Mirza Hasan (son of the powerful noble Mirza Shah Rukh).

Although the rebellion proper was only following in the foot steps of his father, the reflections of Jahangir on his recalcitrancy are worthy of notice, if only as a sample of the change that authority brings over the character and outlook of persons. "In the first year after my accession," he writes, "Khairi, influenced by the petulance and pride which accompany youth, by his want of experience and prudence, and by the encouragement of evil companions, got some absurd notions into his head. . . . They never reflected that sovereignty and government cannot be managed and regulated by men of limited intelligence. The Supreme Dispenser of Justice gives His high mission to those whom He chooses, and it is not everyone that can successfully wear the robes of royalty. The vain dreams of Khairi and his foolish companions could end in nothing but trouble and disgrace."²

An alarm was raised, and the pursuit began. "I dispatched Shahid Farid (Soldier) on the service, directing him to take all the necessities and shields he could collect. I determined that I myself would start as soon as it was day. . . . The next morn. as that Khairi was going forward to the Punjab, but the thought came in my mind that he might perhaps be doing this as a blind, his real intention being to go elsewhere. Akbar Mirza Singh, who was in Bengal was Khairi's maternal uncle, and many thought that Khairi would proceed thither. But the man who had been sent out in all directions confirmed the report of his going towards the Punjab. Next morning I arose, and placing my reliance on God, I mounted and set off, not allowing myself to be detained by any person or anything. . . ."

"My distress arose from the thought that my son, without any cause or reason, had become my enemy, and that if I did not start myself to capture him, disappointed and turbulent men would support him, or he would of his own accord go off to the Libays or Kandahar, and thus disaster would fall upon my throne."³

There is little interest in the details of the struggle. It terminated within three weeks (April 6-23, 1885). The governor of

1. *Baro Feroze*, op. cit., pp. 125-26.

2. *Wingspread Jahangir*, E. & F. N. op. cit., p. 280.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 280-282.

Lahori refused to open the gates for the rebel Prince, who was captured while trying to cross the Ghazab.

Before the defeat of Akbari, an order had been issued to all the *ghazabs*, watch-towers, and the *burjans* on the *Panjab*, informing them of what had happened, and warning them to be careful.*

On the 3rd of Muharram 1024 A.H., Akbari was brought into my presence in the garden of Akbari Khanda with his hands bound and a chain up his leg, and he was led up from the left side, according to the rule of Chagatai Khans. I attributed my success gained in this expedition to Sheikh Farid, and I dignified him with the title of Akbari Khanda. To strengthen and confirm my rule, I decreed that a double row of stakes should be set up from the garden to the city, and that the rebels should be impaled thereon, and that women from distant as the most execrating punishment. The landholders between the Ghazab and Akbari who had proved their loyalty, I rewarded by giving to each one of them some land as *malik-i-ma'ad*†.

Guru Arjun, the head of the Sikh community, was sentenced to death as an accomplice of the rebel Prince, and his property, including his fief, was confiscated. His offences consisted in giving Rs. 5000 to Akbari, which the Guru justified on grounds of his services and gratitude for past kindness received from Akbar, "and not because he was in opposition to thee" Jait Singh, in the first instance, had only fined him two lakhs of rupees, and ordered him to expunge from the *Granth Sahib* passages opposed to the Hindus and the *Muslimans*. But to this Guru Arjun replied: "Whatever money I have is for the poor, the mendicant and the stranger. If thou ask for money, thou mayest take what I have; but if thou ask for it by way of fine, I shall not give thee even a *Kauri* (shell), for a fine is imposed on wicked, worldly persons, and not on priests and anchorites. And as to what thou hast said regarding the errors of hymns in the *Granth Sahib*, I cannot cross or alter an iota.

The hymns which find a place in it are not disrespectful to any Hindu incarnation or *Muhammedan* prophet. It is certainly stated that prophets, priests, and incarnations are the hand-work of the Immortal God whose *Eilat* none can find. My main object is the spread of truth and destruction of falsehood, and if, in pursuance of this object, this perishable body must depart, I shall account it great good fortune."

Commenting on this Dr. Desi Prasad observes: "The main-

* *Ibid.*, p. 209.
† *Ibid.*, p. 204.

shly navigation has been represented by Sikh tradition as the first of the long series of religious persecutions which the Khalsa suffered from the Mughal Emperors. In reality, it is nothing of the kind. Without minimising the gravity of Jahangir's mistake, it is only fair to recognise that the whole affair amounts to a single execution, due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikhs were molested. No interest was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjun himself would have smiled his days in prison if he had not exposed the cause of a rebel.¹ V. A. Smith also writes, "The punishment, it will be observed, was inflicted as a penalty for high treason and contumacy, and was not primarily an act of religious persecution."²

Khanda himself was blinded and imprisoned; subsequently he partially recovered his sight, but not his liberty.³ He was destined to be a pawn in the political game, ultimately to be disposed off under very tragic and suspicious circumstances.

III. WARS OF CONQUEST

The principal wars under Jahangir were those leading to the final subjugation of Mewar in 1614, the conquest of Ahmadnagar in

1. See Parnell, op. cit., pp. 143-45.

2. Smith, op. cit., p. 194. Also see "Jahangir's Relations with the Sikhs," K. T. Mehta, I. H. Q., XXX, 1, pp. 44-47; and A. C. Banerjee, I. H. Q., XXX, 2, II, 195-6, 196.

3. The blinding of Khanda was the result of another misreading attempted on his father. The plot was hatched when Jahangir had been away in Kabul, to assassinate him on one of his hunting expeditions and place Khanda on the throne. There were, however, too many conspirators and the whole plan was betrayed to Jahangir. The conspirators were caught and executed. The Prince was further punished as a result of the erroneous misreading of his will-when, the *Amalakh-i-Jahangir-Salikh* gives the following account of the blinding:—

"His Majesty ordered Prince Khanda to be deprived of his sight. When the work was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him that it is beyond all expression. The Prince, after being deprived of sight, was brought to Agra, and the paternal love again revived. The royal physicians were ordered to take measures to heal the eyes of the Prince, that they might recover by good as they were before. One of the physicians of India, Shamsi (name by name) undertook to cure the Prince within six months. By his skill, the Prince recovered his original power of vision in one of his eyes, but the other remained a little defective in that respect, and also became smaller than its natural size. After the lapse of the assigned time, the Prince was presented to the Emperor, who showed the physicians great favour, and honoured him with the title of *Amir-i-Samsa*.—I. H. Q., op. cit., pp. 143-45.

Now Parnell observes, "After weighing all available evidence, my conclusion is that the version of the *Amalakh-i-Jahangir* comes nearer the truth than any other. The author writes with inside knowledge."—*History of Jahangir*, pp. 143-4 and 5.

1604, the capture of Rājgarh in 1620, and the loss of Khondabar in 1632. There were also a few others relating to minor conquests and incursions which will be related as due course.

"The immediacy that ever existed can boast of a more romantic

(ii) *Mewar*.

history, of more heroic exploits, of a greater sense of honour and self-respect than the Rajputs of restored India. . . . As one glides through the Rajput tradition, the most striking of the heights of valour, devotion, and abnegation to which humanity can rise. The Rajput spirit appears in its very grandeur in the shattered wrecks of Mewar. . . . Their (Shoodas) intimate knowledge of the steep and defile, narrow, obscure passes and hidden, mysterious pathways, was of the highest value to the Rajputs in their days of adversity. But for them, the history of Mewar might have run a different course.

"Through Mewar, or close to her boundary, passed the highways of commerce between the fertile Ganges plains and the arid regions of India on the Western coast. So long as Mewar was independent, the merchants of the Delta Kingdom could not expect on these highways adequate security of person and property or freedom from vexatious tolls. That was one reason why Mughal Emperors could never reconcile themselves to the idea of an independent Mewar. There was, of course, the insuperable nerve which prompted the collection of the last ruler of Rajput independence, but in fairness to the Mughals it is necessary to emphasize the economic cause which has generally been overlooked by historians."

We have already traced the history of the Rajputs under Akbar. It will not, however, be out of place here to recall to mind Col. Tod's oft quoted eulogium:

"Had Mewar possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Polipravans nor 'the Forest of the Ten Thousand,' would have yielded more dreadful evidence for the Historic Muse, than the deeds of this brilliant reign (of Prady) with the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted heroes, defensive heroisms, that which keeps honour bright, perseverance with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were opposed to a daring arbiter, commanding talents, valiant men, and the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient to contend with our unconquerable mind. There is not a page in the epics of India that is not surpassed by some deed of Prady—some brilliant victory and other some glorious defeat. Highlight is the *Thamasyas* of Mewar; the *Field of Dewar* for Marathas."

But all this was to rather eclipse in the present reign. On the banks of the Peśhwa, the dying Prady, like Hannibal to Hannibal, had sworn his son and allies "by the throne of Nigga Nind" to eternal enmity with the Mughal. Anas Singh, however, though un-

Emotionally great in many ways, was obliged to bow his proud head before Khurram.

On his accession, Jahangir, as if to make amends for his own deduction in his father's regime, immediately despatched an army of 30,000 horse against Mewar, under the command of Prince Parviz and Asaf Khan (Jahar Beg)—not to be confounded with the more famous brother of Mir Jafar. The armies encountered each other at Daula, the engagement is one of the disputed battles in history. Both sides claimed the victory.¹ But, whatever be the truth, on account of the situation created by Khuram's rebellion, Parviz and his forces were recalled to the capital: 'all was silenced by the unhappy outbreak of Khuram,' writes Jahangir. 'I was obliged to persevere here in the Punjab, and the capital and interior of the country was denuded of troops. I was obliged to write to Parviz, desiring him to return to protect Agra and the neighbourhood, and to remain there, so the campaign against the Rājā was suspended.'²

The second expedition was sent two years later (1608) under the personal command of Mahabat Khan. The entire force consisted this time of 12,000 horse, 500 *ashuks*, 2,000 musketeers, 60 elephants, 35 pieces of small artillery mounted on camels and elephants. Twenty lakhs of rupees were allotted for expenses. Yet, while the Mughals won sporadic victories, they failed to make effective headway in the enemy's country.

The next year (1609) Mahabat Khan was replaced by Abdul-Rā Khan in command. The latter is described as 'a valiant soldier, a rash commander, and a cruel and ruthless sort of man.' From Kumbhalgarh (28°4' N. and 75°25' E. 40 miles North of Udaipur city; 3,568 ft. above sea-level), the rash-fortress built by Rājā Kumbha (1403-56), he made such a dash upon Amar Singh, that the latter came near to losing his life. The war went on with varying fortunes on either side, until the recall of Abdul-Rā Khan to the South on account of the exigencies of the Deccan campaign (to be noticed presently).

After a short experiment with Rājā Ram, the command finally (1611) came to Kāfir-i Asam Azad Kōta (Kōtā's father-in-law):

1. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

2. *E. & D.*, op. cit., p. 228.

'one of the hypocrites and old wolves of the State' (as Jahāngir called him) and Prady Khurram. The two immediately quarrelled, and the former was recalled and placed in confinement in the fort of Gwalior (April 1614). Khurram's charge against him was that he was 'spreading matters simply on account of the connection he had with Khānā' and that his presence was 'in no way fitting.' However, he was soon set free.

Khurram, now left in absolute command, conducted the campaign with consummate ability. He reduced the

The Last Campaign

Rajp to great straits by devastating his country and cutting off his supplies. In fact, Amar

Singh found himself in the same plight as his father in 1579-80. In the words of Jahāngir, 'Being helpless, he resolved to succumb, and to do homage.' He sent his maternal uncle Subh Karan, and Hamida Bībi, one of his most trusty and intelligent servants, praying my son to overlook his offences, and to give him an assurance of safety under the princely seal, he would then wait upon him as prison to my homage, and would send his son and heir-apparent to the Imperial Court, so that he might be classed among the adherents of the throne like all other rāihs. He also begged that on account of old age he might be excused from proceeding to Court..... My son wrote me the particulars in a despatch.

'Rajp Amar Singh and his ancestors, relying upon the security of his mountains and his home, had never seen one of Kings of Hindustan, and had never shown obedience : but now in my fortunate reign he had been compelled to make his submission.'¹ Jahāngir graciously accepted the submission and even ordered Claxot to the Rajp, but with the express condition that it should neither be fortified afresh, nor even repaired.

In later tranquillity Shah Amar Singh, some time after, abdicated in favour of his eldest son Karan Singh ; the Rajp ever after remained loyal to the Moghuls until the blind ferocity of Aurangzeb again drove Rajp Raj Singh into open rebellion. Meanwhile, Karan Singh was placed 'in the right hand of the circle in the double and presented with a superb dress of honour and a jewelled sword. In March, 1625, at the most sumptuous celebration, he received the rank of 5,000 *ash* and *asir* ; and what is more, two life-size equestrian statues of Amar Singh and Karan were made,

in appreciation of their valour, and set in the palace garden within view of the Jharokha window at Agra.¹ When Karam left for his home, he received by way of a farewell gift a horse, a special elephant, a dress of honour, a string of pearls of the value of Rs. 50,000 and a jewelled dagger worth Rs. 1,000. Jahāngir calculated that 'from the time of his waiting on me till he obtained leave, what he had, in the shape of cash, jewellery, etc., was of the value of Rs. 2,00,000 with 115 horses, five elephants, in addition to what my son Khurram bestowed on him at various times'.² But what of the loss of dignity and freedom? The proud Rājā could never be compensated.

It will be remembered that Akbar had hastily concluded his Deccan campaign with the siege of Adilgarh

(2) *Ain-i-Akbari* (1601), on account of Salim's rebellion in the north. Since then, Malik Ambar, an able

Afghanian in the service of Ahmednagar, had done much to consolidate the position of Muslim Salim in the north. He had both military and administrative talent, and had remodelled the revenue system of his state on the principles of Akbar Tudor Mai. He was a master of the military tactics of the Marathās, and took the fullest advantage of the political situation as well as of the peculiar strategic resources of his own country and men. He now set himself the task of recovering the dominion lost to the Mughals.

Burhanpur was the Mughal head-quarters in the north. There the puppet, Prince Farid held his petty court; or, as Sir Thomas Roe puts it, 'the prince hath the name and state, but the Khān (Khairan) governs all'. From 1604-15 the issue campaigns dragged on, noble marching noble as commander; but all equally futile. The war was carried on on two fronts - (1) against the enemy, and (2) within the Mughal camp itself (viz. of mutual recrimination among the nobles). From 1608-10 the Khān-Khairan was in command; from 1609-12 Khān Jahan Lodi with the assistance of Khān Zaman, Mirā Saugh and Abdullāh Khān (of Mirwiz Feroz). At the end of this period the Khān-Khairan was again appointed to the northern command. This time he retrieved his position, mainly on account of disorder in the enemy's camp. He was continued

1. *See* *Proceedings*, op. cit., p. 248 n. 63.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-4 n. 52.

all 1616, when Prince Khurram, ambitious to see high lands, took his place.

Towards the close of October, 1616, Khurram's camp equipment started from Ajmer for the Deccan. Next month the Prince was bestowed with the title of Shah or King "which no Timurid prince had ever received"¹ and loaded with presents he set out on his grand campaign. In Roe's estimate one of the carpets he received was valued at Rs. 1,00,000, and another dagger was worth Rs. 40,000. Jahangir also prepared to move south, on Tuesday, Nov. 10, 1616. The whole progress of his march has been well described by Sir Thomas Roe and Terry, his chaplain, who were eye-witnesses. The former says, "the rule showed like a beautiful city", and readily adds, "I was supplied with carriage and sustained of my provision; but five poor allowances would not have furnished me with one indifferent will, suitable to others. . . So I returned to my poor hosts." The latter writes of the camp royal "which indeed is very glorious as all must confess, who have seen the infinite number of tents, or pavilions there pitched together, which in a plain make a show equal to a most spacious and glorious city. These tents, I say, when they are all together, cover such a quantity of ground, that, I believe it is five English miles at the least, from one side of them to the other, very beautiful to behold from some hill, where they may be all seen at once."²

The Imperial camp reached Mirdā (lat. 23° 20' N long 75° 20' E, 1,544 ft. above sea) after four months, on March 6, 1617,³ where a splendid shikā had been prepared for the reception at a cost of Rs. 3,50,000.

Prince Khurram, who marched in advance, was joined by Karim Singh (of Mirdā) with 1,500 Rajput horse. They reached Burhanpur on March 6, 1617.⁴ But in spite of the pompous equipment, or because of it, the Maghols were their objective without striking a blow. Peace was restored on the restoration of the Bilgāri territory, recently seized by Malik Asker, the delivery of the keys of Ahmednagar and other strongholds, and the payment of tribute by the Deccan chieft.

Shah Khurram returned to the Imperial camp at Mirdā on

1. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

2. See *Ibid.*, pp. 287-92.

3. This date is correct in dates given to be revised.

October 12, 1647, with treasures and 'offerings such as had never come in any reign or state.' " Altogether his presents were estimated at Rs. 2,500,000.¹ "After he had performed the duty of salutation and kissing the ground," writes Jahāngīr, "I called him up into the *darwāza*, and with exceeding kindness and delight rose from my place and held him in the embrace of affection. In proportion as he strove to be humble and polite, I increased my favours and kindness to him and made him sit near me." He was, besides, promoted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *alt* and *naevā*, and honoured with the title of *Shāh Jahān* or King of the World.

The *Khān Khānān*, Abūl Fazl Khān (son of Durrān Khān) was appointed Governor of Darr, Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar, and his eldest son, Shāh Nāsir Khān was put in charge of 10,000 horse in the newly added territory. Altogether 20,000 cavalry and 7,500 musketeers were left in the Deccan under reliable officers, and due provision was made for both the defence and administration of these provinces.

But this was only a truce and no permanent pacification of the Deccan. So long as the active and intrepid Malik Ambar was alive, there could be no lasting peace. No sooner than the Imperial arms were even partially withdrawn, or the political situation became favourable, he renewed his strength. By 1620 he partially won back all that he had lost by the previous treaty. This necessitated sending Shāh Jahān once more against him. Similar results followed (1621). "After much strategy on the part of the rebel," writes Jahāngīr, "it was settled that besides the territory which was formerly held by the Imperial officers, a space of fourteen *kos* beyond should be relinquished, and a sum of 90 lakhs of rupees should be sent to the Imperial treasury."²

Still later, in 1623, both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar sought Imperial aid, each against the other. Mahabat Khān preferred the former, which inevitably created hostility with the latter. Finally, Malik Ambar died in 1626, and the Deccan problem remained as unsolved as ever. The impression Malik Ambar had made even on his enemies, is indicated by the following appreciation of him by Mirza Asaf Khān, the Mughal courtier-chronicler:—

"Intelligence now arrived of the death of Ambar the Abshirān, in the 40th year of his age, on Rāz *Ushshāh*. This Ambar was a slave,

1. For details see *IBAC*, p. 181.

2. *Mughal Jahāngīr*, B. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 380.

but on this man. In warlike, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood the predatory (hazafi) warlike, which is the language of the Dakhls, a called *hazafi*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and died his death in honour. History records no other instance of an *Almoravid* doing anything at such eminence.

This is beautiful and well-fortified region in north-eastern Panjab, impregnable on account of its geographical configuration.

(Lat. $32^{\circ}30'$ and $32^{\circ}35'$; long. $75^{\circ}30'$ and $75^{\circ}35'$). The *Shah Fari Kānga* thus refers to the fort and its history: "The fort of Kānga is very lofty, and stands on a high hill. Its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong; in so much that no king was ever able to take it; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient Kānga, that from the beginning up to this date, it has always remained in the possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Mahomedan kings who have reigned in this country. From A.H. 700, or the commencement of Salāh Ghaythi-d-dīn's power, to the year 661, when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindustan, the fort has been besieged no less than 82 times by the most powerful kings and rulers, but no one has been able to take it. First, who was one of the greatest Kings of Delhi, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled all his efforts; for at last he was contented with having an interview with the *Rājā*, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kāfi Kān Turkoman, entitled Khān-Jahān, Governor of the province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Panjab; but notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it. It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahāngir, under the influence of whose prosperous star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed."

The task was accomplished by Shāh Shāhrukh acting under

1. Ibid., pp. 428-9.

2. Ibid., p. 536. For details of the conquest, which are very interesting, see Ibid., pp. 537-38.

the command of Shah Kharran. 'He took possession of all the treasures which had been amassed by the Rayer of that place from ancient times. From their riches he distributed rewards to the soldiers and officers of the army, and what remained after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor, with a report on the victory which was thus achieved. His Majesty, on receiving the information of this conquest, offered thanks to the great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum of alms among the poor and the needy.'¹

On Monday 9th Muharram, the joyful intelligence of the conquest of the fort of Kilga arrived . . . When this humble individual², writes Jahangir, 'ascended the throne, the capture of this fort was the first of all his designs. He sent Murad Koka, Governor of the Punjab, against it with a large force, but Murad died before its reduction was accomplished. Chagur Mal, son of Raja Bera, was afterwards sent against it, but that traitor rebelled, his army was broken up, and the fort of the fortress was defended. Not long after, the traitor was made prisoner and was executed and sent to hell, as has been recorded in the proper place. Prince Kharran was afterwards sent against it with a strong force, and many vessels were directed to support him. In the month of Shawwal, 1029 H., his forces invested the place, the trenches were performed out, and the system of provisions was completely stopped. In time the fortress was in difficulty, no corn or food remained in the place, but for four months longer the men tried upon dry fodder and similar things which they baked and ate, but when death stared them in the face, and no hope of deliverance remained, the place surrendered on Monday, Muharram 1, 1030. (November 26, 1621).

'The extreme heat of Agra was unsupportable to my constitution . . . and as I had a great desire for the air of Kilga. I went to pay a visit to the fortress . . . After passing over about half a league (from Ferozpur) we ascended to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *Khutba* was read, a *na'w* was lifted, and other things were done, such as had never been done before from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All this was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighty for this great conquest which no previous conquest had been able to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the fortress.'³

Kandahar, on account of its situation and importance, both commercial and military, was a constant source

(1) Kandahar, of friction between the Moghuls and the Persians. It had been conquered, as we have seen, by Akbar in 1572, and kept by his sons, Hamidiyah and Khanda. It slipped away

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 128-32.

² *Ibid.* pp. 124-125; 131-32.

in 1553, but was re-acquired by Akbar in 1564. The revolt of Kiliwā, at the commencement of the present reign, gave the Persians an opportunity, and Shāh Abūls (1557-1629) instigated the chiefs of Khwarizm and others to attack Kandahar. But the Mughal commander of the fort, Shāh Dāg Kiliwā, proved more than a match for the Persians. Besides reinforcements from India were arrived (1607) to the other discontents of the empire.

Foiled in this indirect attempt, Shāh Abūls inspired indignation at the treacherous adroitness of his subjects, declared the attack was unauthorized, professed warm friendship towards Jahāngir, and hoped that the unfortunate occurrence would leave no unpleasantness behind. Jahāngir merely accepted these diplomatic protestations of his ardent neighbour, went to Kabul, directed a futile campaign against the predatory tribes of Bāghdād, ordered repair of the roads from Kandahar to Gaud, and occupied himself in some benevolent activities, planted certain cotton trees at Kabul, planted trees and improved gardens, and set out for Lahore in August, 1607, after a sojourn of eleven weeks. These events occurred between the rebellion of Kiliwā and the plot to assassinate Jahāngir that we have already mentioned.

In the meanwhile, Shāh Abūls, who never gave up his designs upon Kandahar, tried to cover up his sinister intentions by the exchange of diplomatic embassies, gifts, and other graces. Thus, he sent Persian ambassadors to the Mughal Court in 1611, 1615, 1616, and 1620, loaded with silken presents and letters containing assurances and studied flattery. A sample may be here given for more than the amusement it affords:—

'May the demands of sovereignty and rule and the need of magnificence and exalted happiness of His Pioneer of heavenly dignity, of unshaken grandeur the King whose kingdom is young, of future-like majesty, the renowned Prince, possessing the authority of the spheres, the Khakirā, the world-gripper (Jahāngir) and empery-enslaving sovereign, the Prince of the exaltedness of Slander, with banner, of Exalted, he who sits in the parison of greatness and glory, the possessor of the (curved) crown, the curtain of the joys of good fortune and prosperity, adorer of the gardens of happiness, dispenser of the sun-parade, lord of the happy conjunction (of the planets), the owner of the maintenance the perfection of Wajihoddin, exordium of the mysticism of the sky, the adornment of the face of learning and might, inheritor of the best of creation, consummation of human perfection, mirror of the glory of God, simulator of the lofty soul, increaser of good fortune and of the beneficent

intrinsic, one of the grandeur of the deed, the shadow of the brightness of the Creator, he who has the dignity of Jambhvat among the stars of the firmament, lost of conquests, prince of the world, owner of the favours of Allah, and fountain of inexhaustible mercy, warrior of the plain of purity, may he not (in, without) be guarded from the calamity of the evil eye, may his fountain of perfection be preserved in truth, his crown and love, the tale of his good qualities and benevolence cannot be written.¹

These compliments were only a camouflage; behind the smoke-screen of fine phrases the Shāh was mobbing marched. When he thought that the time had come, owing to the internal situation in India, he did not hesitate to strike an effective blow. Kandahār was once more besieged in 1622, and finally taken by the Persians in 1623. Jahāngir thought of elaborate preparations of war, which he hoped to carry right to the Persian capital; but all this miscarried on account of Shāh Jahan's rebellion. Here is Jahāngir's description of the situation:—

'A dispatch arrived from the son of Khān Jahan, reporting that Shāh Abūl, King of Persia, had had words to the effect of Kandahār with the lords of Irak and Khurasan. I gave orders for calling troops from Kandahar, and Khwāja Abū-l-Hasan Shāh and Saif Khān Farukh were sent on in advance of me to Lahore, to organise the forces in the provinces brought them up from the Delhwa, Gujarat, Berar, and Bihar, and on the night came from those places and assembled, and then to send them on in succession to the son of Khān Jahan at Multan (where the forces were to be concentrated). Artillery, mortars, elephants, treasure, arms, and equipments were also to be sent on thither. For such an army 100,000 fakirs or more would be needed.—But Saif-ul Abidin whom I had sent to summon Khawar (who was to be placed in command) returned and reported that the Prince would come after he had paid the taluk mason in the fort Mithlā. When I read and understood the contents of the Prince's letter, I was not at all pleased or rather I was displeased.²

After the capture of Kandahār, the Shāh had the decency to write to Jahāngir, declaring that Kandahār had rightly belonged to the Persians and that Jahāngir ought to have voluntarily surrendered it to him, and expressing at the same time that "the ever-vigilant flower of justice and cordiality (between the two sovereigns) would remain in bloom and (that) every effort be made to strengthen the foundations of concord."³

1. Cited by Paul French, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-9, n. 2.

2. *E. & O.*, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 202.

3. *Paul French, op. cit.*, p. 202.

Before we proceed to consider the circumstances and details of (1) Akbar's rule. Shikā Jahān's death, we might briefly describe some of the minor conquests under Jahāngir.

In 1613 a Muslim youth named Qutb had tried to impersonate Prince Khurrah and create trouble in Fāris. He was soon executed and there was an end of the affair. Not more formidable was the disturbance farther east. The refractory Afghans in Bengal had never been fully subjugated. In 1609 under their leader, Umrān Khān, they had rebelled against Mīr Singh's grandson Mān Singh. Though Mīr Singh, when he returned to the province temporarily, subdued them, they still continued to give trouble in the earlier years of Jahāngir's reign. The frequent change of governors afforded the rebels ample opportunities. Finally, in 1608, when Istikhār Khān was appointed to the eastern province, he changed his head-quarters from Rajmahal to Teera (then called Jahāngirnagar), so as to be able to deal with the rebels effectively. Prolonged overtures having proved fruitless, a grand campaign was entered under the command of Sayyid Khān. Finally, the Afghans fighting bravely, and almost recklessly, were conquered. On April 1, 1612, Jahāngir received the glad tidings of the victory, stated by the head of Umrān, 'the last of the brave Afghans.' Thereafter, Jahāngir treated the Afghans with great clemency and promoted them to some of the highest ranks in the Imperial hierarchy.

Khandā, in Orissa, with its famous temple of Jagannāth was subdued after brave resistance, by its Rājā Purushottam Dāy, who was obliged to yield and send his daughter to the Imperial harem. This was effected by Rājā Kalyān, son of Rājā Tatar Māl, in 1611. In 1616 Khondā, in the wilds of Bihar, was captured from its ruler Durgan Sāl, because of its valuable diamond mines which were declared a state monopoly. The conquest was effected by Ibrahim Khān (brother of Mīr Jahān), on whom was bestowed the title of Fīrāj Jang with the rank of 4000. In 1617 Purushottam Dāy of Khondā again rebelled, and his territory was finally annexed to the Empire by Mahārām Khān, the Governor of Orissa. This brought the Mughal Frontier on this side to the borders of Golconda. In the same year, the tribes of Jūn and Bhān in Cāshmir were subdued by Rājā Bīkarnāj who the Shāh Fā'iz Khān calls 'an old, brave, and experienced chief, who was very faithful to the throne :—by whom the Prince (Shāh Jahān) had used every endeavour to obtain advancement, the gift of whose friendship, when tried

by the townsmen had turned out pale and red," etc.¹ In 1529 Kashmir, to the south of Kashmir, with its rich forests and gardens, was taken down by *Asaf*, who rebelled and was again subdued in 1532. This state, though it was small, yielded a revenue of Rs. 1,00,000.

IV. MIR JAHAN AND REACTIONS

Now we come to the most interesting part of Jahangir's story. All the remaining events, as well as some of those we have already narrated, are to be connected with the advent of Mir Jahan. She forms as it were the pivot or the principal hinge on which the history of the rest of the reign turns. The rebellions of Shikā Jahān and Mubīshat Khān were primarily reactions of the workings of Mir Jahan's influence. "No figure in medieval history," observes Hans Frensdorff, "has been afforded as rich a romance as the period of Mir Jahan rules in the mind. No incident in the reign of Jahangir has attracted such attention as his marriage with Mir Jahan. For half three years that celebrated lady stood forth as the most striking and most powerful personality in the Mughal Empire." But, as regards the many romantic legends that have gathered round her name, he very properly says, "It is all very fascinating but it is not history. Sober history unfolds a tale lacking in such a picturesque romance, but full of human interest."²

The best reliable and brief account of Mir Jahan's history is contained in the following passage from Motamed Khān's *Tārīkh-i-shahsā Jahāngīrī* :—

"Among the great events that occurred during this interval (six years) of the reign was the Emperor Jahangir's demanding Mirabada Begum in marriage. This subject might be expanded into volumes, but we are necessarily confined to a limited space in thus describing the strange doings of Fate. Mirāz Ghayās Beg, the son of Kāshān Muhammad Shāh, was a native of Tabaristān. Kāshān Muhammad was first of all the viceroy of Muhammad Khān Yabkī, governor of Khurasān. After the death of Muhammad Khān, he entered the service of the renowned King Tabarspāy Shāh, and was entrusted with the viceroyship of Yazd. The Khān's had two sons, Shāh Taher and Mirāz Ghayās Beg. After the death of his father (1577), Mirāz Ghayās Beg, with two sons and a daughter, travelled to Hindustān. On the road, as he was passing through Kandahār, by the death of his father another daughter was born to him.

¹ E. B. D., op. cit., VI, p. 321.

² E. History of Jahangir, pp. 120-21.

Statues, *Mughal Empire*



NO. 1. JAHAN BIRAM

In the city of Farhang, he had the good fortune to be presented to the Emperor's father. In a short time owing to his devotion to the King's service and his intelligence, Ashraf Ghayis Beg was raised to the office of chamberlain or superintendent of the household. He was considered exceedingly clever and skilled, both in writing and in transacting business. He had studied the old poets, and had a deep appreciation of the meaning of words, and he wrote discourses in a bold and elegant style. His leisure moments were devoted to the study of poetry and style and his preference and bent was to the path was that no one ever turned from his door disappointed. In ruling India, however, he was very bold and daring. When His Highness the Emperor Akbar was staying at Lahore, Ali Kuli Beg Bagrami, who had been brought up under Shah Ismail II, having come from the kingdom of India, became included among the number of the royal concubines, and, as Fateh ordered it, married the daughter of Ashraf Ghayis Beg who had been born in Kandahar. Afterwards in the reign of Jahangir, he received a suitable reward, and the title of Sher-Afghan was conferred on him. He next received a *khilat* in the province of Bengal, and departed thence to take possession. The murder of Nurah-din Khan (Governor of Bengal) and his own death have already been related.¹ After the death of Nurah-din, the officials of Bengal, in obedience to royal command, sent to Court the daughter of Ghayis Beg, who had been married to the title of *Shahboud* death, and the King, who was greatly distressed at the murder of Nurah-din, entrusted her to the keeping of his own royal mother. There she remained some time without notice. Then, however, Fateh had decreed that she should be the Queen of the World and Princess of the Time, it happened that on the celebration of New Year's Day in the sixth year of the Emperor's reign (March, 1615), his apartments caught fire, and a captured lion that he intended her

1. It was reported that Sher-Afghan was overthrown and disposed to be rebellious. When Nurah-din was sent to Bengal (Aug. 1605) he was directed to look after Sher-Afghan. If he was found to be fond and devoted, he was to be maintained in his place; but if not, he was to be sent to Court, or if he brought to punishment if he delayed in presenting himself. Nurah-din found a bad opinion of his actions and way of life. When he was summoned to appear before the emperor, he made unreasonable excuses, and showed evil feelings. Nurah-din wrote a report upon his conduct to the Emperor, and the Imperial order was given for sending him to Court; the emperor was also directed to carry out the instructions he had received, and to bring Sher-Afghan to present court if he manifested any hostility. On receiving this command Nurah-din immediately presented to Farhang (March, 1607) which was the wife of Sher-Afghan. Suspecting there was a design against him, Sher-Afghan, in the course of conversation, "before any real conflict intervened," ran his sword into the emperor's belly and drew him. The eunuch Nurah-din, a brave officer, galloped against Sher-Afghan and struck him on the head with a sword, but Sher-Afghan returned it so heavily that he killed his assassin at a blow. The other attendants now joined in the murder, and dispatched Sher-Afghan with their swords. — (Fath-al-Mu'arrif/ash-shajir, E. & O. op. cit., VI, pp. 482-3.)

among the members of his select harem (May, 1861). Day by day her influence and dignity increased. First of all she assumed the title of *Nir Jalda*, "Lady of the Harem," but was afterwards distinguished by that of *Nir Jalda Begam*, "Light of the World." All her relations and connections were noted in honour and wealth. . . . No grant of land was conferred upon any woman except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow, the Emperor granted *Nir Jalda* the rights of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves, and listen to her dictates. One was struck in her case, with this representation: "By order of the King Jalda Begam, gold had a hundred ~~signatures~~ added to it by receiving the impression of the name of *Nir Jalda* the Queen Begam." On all *Amans* also receiving the Imperial signature, the name '*Nir Jalda*, the Queen Begam,' was justly attached. At last her authority reached such a point that the King was such only in name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on *Nir Jalda Begam*, and would say, 'I require nothing beyond a dr of wine and half a dr of meat.' It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter that was presented to her if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression, and if ever she heard that any orphan girl was destitute and homeless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 600 orphan girls were thus married and provided.¹

Plain and unvarnished as this tale is, there has been a great controversy over the alleged crime of Jahangir. He has been charged with the murder of Sher-Afghan, which he is believed to have brought about in order to marry *Mihraunisa*. It is said, on the strength of various legends, including a statement by *Dr. Legat*, who says that Jahangir was in love with *Mihraunisa* "when she was still a maiden, during the life-time of Akbar" (Akbar) but she had already been betrothed to the Turk *Qasr Afghani* (Sher-Afghan), and hence his father would not allow him to marry her, although he never entirely lost his love for her.² But *Dr. Bernier* has very ably made out a case acquitting Jahangir, which seems quite plausible. "An attentive study of contemporary authorities," he contends, "and of the well-established facts themselves leads to the bottom out of the whole romance, and the character of Jahangir and *Nir Jalda* appear in a truer and more favourable light." His main line of argument may be briefly stated thus

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 498-5.

2. *Bernier and Rowley*, p. 321.

(4) No contemporary chronicler has made the charge against the Emperor.

(5) Even the characters of Shih Jishi's sons, who had antipathies towards Nur Jishi, do not go so far as to do it.

(6) Contemporary European writers, although they record many another Court scandal, hardly repeat the crime to Jahangir.

(7) If Jahangir had been early in love with Mihranisa, Akbar would not have appointed Sher-Afghan in the service of Salim, and the latter would not, under such circumstances, have permitted his rival in love.

(8) Nur Jishi, from her known character, would not have submitted to the yoke of her husband's passions; on the contrary there is reason to believe she sincerely reciprocated Jahangir's passionate love for her.

Dr. Johnson Præsd's criticism of this is rather weak and unconvincing: "The improbabilities of the story itself, on which he (Evel Præsd) dwells at length", he writes, "are of little value in helping us to form a correct judgment. The evidence of the emperor's innocence adduced by Dr. Evel Præsd is of a negative character, and we cannot lightly brush aside the positive assertions of later historians, who were in a better position to state the truth in a matter like this than their predecessors. There are other considerations which militate against the theory of innocence." These are according to her —

(a) On mere suspicion the Emperor need not have authorized Husn-d din to punish Sher-Afghan: "the crime of the royal displeasure was not even communicated to him."

(b) Jahangir, "who is usually so frank," does not say a word on this incident, "for the obvious reason that no man would risk scandal about himself."

(c) Jahangir's silence about his marriage, "the most momentous event in his career, is wholly unaccountable."

(d) "The account of Sher-Afghan's death is entirely devoid of a mention of Nur Jishi."

(e) Why were not Mihranisa and her daughter entrusted to the care of her father Husn-d din? Why were they kept at Çatâr?

(1) Finally, against the possible question why the impatient lover did not marry her all at once, but waited for four long years, he answers that, Jahangir did not or could not marry all at once because of the widow's natural dislike on the one hand, and Jahangir's desire to stay suspense, on the other.

But after all, he concludes with the observation, 'A careful perusal of contemporary chronicles leaves upon our minds the impression that the circumstances of Shahr Alqa's death are of a highly suspicious nature, although there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the emperor was guilty of the crime.'¹

The rise of Mir Jahan led to a reshuffling of the political equation within the Empire. Her relations, particularly her father Shikanda-d-daula, and her brother Asaf Khan, came into prominence as much by her influence as by their own undoubted personal abilities. The merits of the former have already been described. From 1621, the year of Mir Jahan's marriage, to 1648, he had steadily risen in power and position, until he ranked only next to Prince Khurram. From the rank of 3000+500 in 1621, he had risen to 7000+8000 in 1628, and 7000+7000 in 1638. Asaf Khan also similarly rose from 500+300 up to 1421, to 3000+5000 in 1628, and 6000+6000 in 1638. He was an accomplished man of letters, as well as a man of political and administrative cast. Dr. Badl Prasad says, "As a strategist, he stood unsurpassed in the Mughal empire".² The marriage of his daughter, Arjuman-Banu Begum, with Prince Khurram, in 1612, undoubtedly heightened his prestige as well as power. This Prince, both by circumstance and ability, was marked out to be the heir-apparent. His services to the Empire have already been described in detail, up to his death on the eve of the Kandahar campaign in 1627. Mirza Asaf-uz-zaman Kalgah, proclaimed his glory to the four corners of the Empire. He had now been raised to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 Zai and 20,000 Saah, with the additional title of Shah Jahan, and the *Shah-i-Hind* Pitha.

Speaking of the political importance of the marriage of the niece of Mir Jahan with Prince Khurram, Dr. Badl Prasad observes, "It crystallised the alliance of Mir Jahan, Shikanda-d-daula and

1. *Badl Prasad*, *op. cit.*, pp. 459-60.

2. *History of Jahangir*, p. 187.

And K'ien with the hair apparent. For the next ten years that circle of four sagaciously capable persons practically ruled the empire. What has been called Niu Jai-hsi's group is really the story of these four personages.¹

The period of Niu Jai-hsi's influence is usually considered in two divisions:—(1) 1613-22, when her parents were still alive and exercised a wholesome restraint upon her ambitions; and (2) 1623-25, when Jai-hsi's husband was more or less an invalid, and full vent was given to party strife and faction. In the first period also, K'ien and Niu Jai-hsi were in alliance, in the second, they were antagonistic to each other. The marriage of Shieh-shih (Court 1808) with Niu Jai-hsi's daughter by Shao-Ai-gan, Luch, Peking, in 1620, introduced a fresh complication.

Under these circumstances, the division of the Court into parties was inevitable. At first, there were only two: the *juans* and its opponents; later, when the *juans* itself broke up, there were more. Ma-hsiat K'ien throughout played an important rôle as an indefatigable opponent of the *juans*, as he considered Niu Jai-hsi's relatives, and those whom she had enlisted. In other words, he stood forth as the champion of the older nobility, and at one time went to the extent of advising the Emperor against the party in power. The author of the *Feichih-shih Jai-hsi's* *Shih-shih* says,

'At this time the influence of Niu Jai-hsi began had attained such a height that the entire management of the Empire was entrusted to her hands. Ma-hsiat K'ien thought proper therefore to represent as follows. That to His Majesty and all the world it is well known that this servant Ma-hsiat K'ien was brought up only by His Majesty, and that he has no concern with anybody else. Ever since I began, that Ma-hsiat K'ien possesses much upon His Majesty's kindness, and he was born truly and faithfully to represent what he should possess, motivated by his loyalty, and for the sake of His Majesty's good name. . . . The whole world is surprised that such a wise and sensible Emperor as Jai-hsi should permit a woman to have so great an influence over him. . . . He also added that in his opinion, it was most very advisable to transfer Prince K'ien-shih from prison, and deliver him to one of the confidential servants of the throne. . . . His Majesty should reflect that affairs had now assumed a new aspect, and the safety of His Majesty's person, and the tranquillity and peace of the country seem to depend upon the life of the Prince.'

It is clear from this passage that Ma-hsiat K'ien also championed the cause of the popular and pathetic Prince K'ien-shih, adding

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

another candidate to the party-strategy that was brewing at the Court. But his bold-minded appears to have been taken all in good part by the Emperor, though its effect was ephemeral. The writer above cited closes with the observation, 'The Emperor acted on some measure upon the advice of Maishōrō Kōin, till he arrived at Katsuragi; but the influence of Nii Jōshi Ryōgō had wrought so much upon his mind, that if 200 men like Maishōrō Kōin had advised him simultaneously to the same effect, their words would have made no permanent impression upon him.'¹⁰

With such conduct Mahomed Khán could not expect to get on well at Court in opposition to the jannis. From 1605-60 he had risen from 1500 to 4000+2000 in his rank. Then came Mir Jahan. Till 1612 he received no promotion whatsoever. On the contrary he was driven from the Deccan to the frontiers of Afghanistan, wherever the most strenuous service was needed. For such a one to stand up for the unfortunate Prince Khurshid was to spoil his case. Though Jahangir for a time relaxed towards his eldest born, and allowed him some liberty, the jannis contrived to undo him. Shah Jahan was then in the good books of Mir Jahan. Last the prospects of the younger (Shah Jahan) should be rapidly marred by some rhetorical turn in the Emperor's affection, they contrived to transfer the prisoner, at first to Asaf Khán's custody, and thence to Shah Jahan's. The latter, in utter disregard of all human feeling, got his eldest brother out of the way by methods in which Moghal princes were becoming more and more adept. Before he would proceed on service in the Deccan, in 1620, Shah Jahan insisted on taking his ill-starred brother with him. In January 1622 Jahangir received a report from Shah Jahan, writing from Burhanpur, that Khurshid died of a fever!

The last seven to eight decades of the history of the cinema "talk" are

* Ka-Dahan (Shih Jahn), who grew at Singapore (Battambang), and was living in the jailer to his brother Gueena (Shigai), began to make a plan whereby he might be able to get rid of his brother without incurring the suspicion of having murdered him. He took into his confidence Gueena (Khin Khann) and his most intimate Gueena, and then departed on a hunting expedition. His slave Nam, who had been commissioned to commit the crime, knocked at dead of night upon the door of prince Gueena's bedroom, pretending that he and the companions whom he had brought with him were the hunters of whom his master

from the King, and that they had instructions to set the prince at liberty. The prince did not believe this story. However, when he opened the door, struck down the prince, who was unarmed, strangled him, placed his corpse back on his bed, and shut the door once more.

"The Emperor returned to the city, and sent letters to his father announcing his brother's death. . . . On receiving this news the King mourned deeply for the death of his son. . . . He summoned the father-in-law of Genghis, Chao Ajan (Chao-i Ajan), confided with him, and committed to his charge his grandson Sultan Buligin (Buligin), who was made a commander of 50,000 horses in order that he may be responsible for his education."¹

Kublai's body had been hastily buried at Burdighur in May 1222. At Jahangir's court it was discovered and removed to Agra in June 1522, whence it was taken to Allahabad, there to be deposited by the side of his mother's tomb in Khatkhuda (now known as Khatir Bagh). "His figure," observes T. A. Smith, "shadowy though it be, is one of the most interesting and pathetic in Indian history."²

Meanwhile, Jahangir's health was failing. Repeated visits to Kashmir and other health-resorts, the treatment of distinguished physicians, and the affectionate and wholesome attentions of Nur Jahan did him little good. Though he continued to live till 1627, it was already certain that he had played out his part. Effective power must now pass on to other hands. More than anybody else, both Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan were keenly aware of the possible developments, and as Ben Fraid puts it, "In a single empire there was no room for two such material powers as NUR JAHAN and SHAH JAHAN—~~the therefore one about for a short period~~ therefore one—~~one ready to Shahrivar the Nishabur~~ (good for nothing). "The tender age (11), feeble nature, feeble mind, and feeble character of Shahrivar marked him out as the proper instrument for a material heir." His marriage with Nur Jahan's daughter (1600-1) has already been mentioned. At this time also Nur Jahan lost the wise direction and the restraining influence of both her parents who died one after another in 1591, and 1622. The time had evidently come for a re-shuffling in the political arena.

The spirited and ambitious Shah Jahan saw clearly that his chance lay in vigorous action. That is why, in 1621, he refused to

¹ *History of Timur and Babur*, pp. 154-55. For a discussion on the subject see Ben Fraid, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-34.

² Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

³ Ben Fraid, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

be directed into the fatal Afghan campaign; that is why also he got rid of his possible rival Khwesh in 1822; and finally, that was also the reason for his sudden rebellion in the Deccan. It was more than evident that Jhalilghar had come to know of his perfidious conduct towards Khatkhel, it was more likely that Mir Jahan would press for Shahripur's candidature. On Mir Jahan's refusal to go to the frontier (a reasonable excuse to entreat the Emperor with him), he had put Shahripur in command, and on his failure had also started Sultan Faruk (Jhalilghar's second son) from Bher, where he was governor. Civil war became thus inevitable.

CIVIL WAR:

The details of this revolt are of little interest. But Jhalilghar's (a) Mir Jahan's interest over it is worth citation on account of its policy:

"Intelligence now arrived," he says, "that Khwarizm had taken upon some of the rights of Mir Jahan. Begam and Prince Shahzadeh . . . I have ~~been~~ informed by his dying at the foot of Mirodd, and by his improper and foolish statements in his letters, and I had perceived by his conduct that his mind was corrupted. Upon hearing of this further intelligence, I saw that, notwithstanding all the distress and sadness I had shown him, his mind was perverted. I accordingly sent Mir Jahan-alam, one of my oldest servants, to enquire into the reasons of this boldness and presumption. I also sent him a ~~friend~~, directing him to attend on his own affairs, and not to depart from the strict line of the duty. He was to be content with the rights that had been bestowed upon him from the Imperial Backroom. I warned him not to come to me, but to send all the troops which had been required from him for the campaign against Kandahar. If he acted contrary to my commands, he would afterwards have to appear . . . Letters arrived from Amir Khan and other of my officers whom I had left at Agra, stating that Khwarizm persisted in his perverse course, and pursuing the way of disobedience to the path of duty had taken a decided way on the road to perdition by marching upon Agra . . . A letter from Amir Khan also arrived, stating that this ungrateful man had torn away the veil of slavery, and had broken into open rebellion; that he (Amir Khan) had received no certain intelligence of his movements, so, not considering it expedient to move the treasure, he had not been able to join me.

"On receiving this intelligence, I crossed the river at Sahibpore, and

1. Jhalilghar was accompanied by the treasury of Mir Jahan, to which reference had been made, viz. Mir Jahan's greed to try conclusions with the despotic Shah of Persia. But Mir Jahan's conduct put an end to all such schemes.

desired to infect punishment on this distressed man (Shahidgar). I lived as under that from this time forth he should be called "wretch" (be shafar)... The pen cannot describe all that I have done for him, nor can I recount my own grief, or mention the sorrows and weakness which oppress me in this hot climate, which is so injurious to my health especially during these journeys and wanderings which I am obliged to make in pursuit of him who is no longer my son. Many natives, too, who have been long disciplined under me, and would now have been available against the Uzbeks and the Khakhs have through the periods met with their punishment. May God in His mercy enable me to bear up against all these calamities! What is more painful to me to hear is this, that this is the very time when my sons and nobles should have revolved each other in restoring Kandahar and Kharezm, the loss of which so deeply affects the honour of the Empire, and to effect which this "wretch" is the only obstacle, so that the honour of Kandahar is indefinitely postponed. I trust in God that I may be shortly released of this anxiety!

On the 1st September, I received a letter from Mirza Khān, informing me that the rebel had advanced with all speed to the neighbourhood of Agra, my capital, in the hope of getting possession of it before it could be put in a state of preparation. On reaching Patna, he found that his hope was vain, so he retreated there. He was accompanied by Khān-Khānā (Mirza Abdur Rahman Khan) and his son; and by many other nobles who held office in the Durān and in Gujarat, and had now entered the path of rebellion and perdition. The rebels took away first of all the women of Mirza Khān, and everywhere they relied upon whatever they found serviceable in the possession of my officers. Khān-Khānā who had held the highest dignity of being my viceroy, had now turned rebel, and in the fifth year of his age had blackened his face with lagashk. But he was by nature a rebel and traitor. His father (Barang Khan), at the close of his days, had used in the most shameful way towards my revered father. He had but followed the course of his father, and signified himself in his old age—

"The wolf's paws will grow a foot,
Even though used with man himself."

After I had passed through Orissa, troops came flowing from all directions, and by the time I reached Delhi, such an army had assembled, that the whole country was covered with men as far as the eye could reach. Upon being informed that the rebel had advanced from Patna, I marched to Delhi.¹

The remaining events may be briefly narrated. The rebels were defeated at Bulandshahr, in the month of Delhi 1000, and Shah Tahmasp at first retired into Mithra and thence into the Deccan. He sought vain the help of Mirza Asker, and then fled to Bengal.

1. Wajid-ul-Jahangir, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 282-83.

and Telingana. He occupied Bidar and captured the great fortress of Bidar. But at Akshatad, found the Imperial officers too alert (1624). Again he came back to the Deccan with better hopes of gaining support from Malik Ambar. He did form an alliance with him against Mubbarat Khan who had sided with Bijapur as already stated. In 1625, however, he was seized with an illness. 'The error of his conduct,' as Muhammad Haid puts it, 'now became apparent to him, and he felt that he must beg forgiveness of his father for his offences. So with this proper feeling he wrote a letter to his father, expressing his sorrow and repentance, and begging pardon for all his past and present. His Majesty wrote an answer with his own hand, (March 1625) to the effect that if he would send his sons Durr Salikh and Asangrah to Court, and would surrender Bidar and the fortress of Adli, which was held by his adherents, full forgiveness should be given him, and the country of the Bidlighah should be conferred upon him. Upon reading this Salikh Jahin deemed it his duty to conform to his father's wishes; so, notwithstanding the love he had for his sons, he sent them to his father, with offerings of jewels, dressed arms, elephants, etc., to the value of 15 lakhs of rupees.' He wrote to Mubbarat Khan directing him to surrender Bidar to the person appointed by the Emperor and then to come with Salikh Mubbarat Salikh. He also wrote to Haid Khan directing for surrendering Adli to the Imperial officers. Salikh Jahin then proceeded to Bidar.

Thus ended the fatal rebellion after three years of bloodshed and wastage in men and money, to nobody's advantage but the considerable distraction and weakening of the Empire. The victories of the Imperial forces, had been mostly due to the assistance of indomitable Mubbarat Khan, acting in unison with Prince Parida. But his secret was his undoing. Mir Jahin was watching with jealousy his spreading power and prestige. She could brook nobody's rise within the Empire. His association with Prince Parida was particularly dangerous to her eyes. She, therefore, set about humiliating Mubbarat Khan, and in the result, again plunged the country in civil war.

Mubbarat Khan and Prince Parida were together in the Deccan

(1) *Memories of Bidlighah*. Mir Jahin's first step was to Khan's Camp. separate the two. So Mubbarat was appointed

Governor of Bengal, and his place with Parviti was to be taken by Khatu Jablu. But the Prince was unwilling to part with the general who had become the fray of all his hopes. Parviti was the eldest son of the Emperor, next also, and since the discomfiture of Shah Jablu he had built definite hopes of succeeding to his father. Nevertheless, the Emperor's Regent was equally determined to take her own way. So a peremptory message came from the Imperial headquarters ordering Mithibat Khatu either to proceed to Bengal or to come to the Court at once. He chose the latter course, but marched with 4,000 chosen Rajputs. Meantime various malicious charges had been heaped against Mithibat Khatu, impugning his personal integrity: 'Mithibat Khatu,' it was said, 'had not as yet sent to Court the elephants obtained in Bengal, and he had realized large sums of money due to the State, and also from gifts.' That was more ridiculous, 'Mithibat Khatu had, without the royal permission, offered his daughter to the son of Khariga Umar Kalabharadi.' The Emperor made a great noise about this. He sent for the young man, and having treated him with great insult and harshness he gave orders for having his hands to his neck, and for taking him bare-headed to prison. Khatu Khatu was directed to state what Mithibat Khatu had given to the youth, and place it in the Imperial treasury.¹

Mithibat Khatu was not the man to put up with these calculated slanders. The Emperor at that time had just come from Kashmir, and was about to start for Kabul, with Nitr Jablu, Asaf Khatu, and all his Court. The abiding place of the Emperor was on the bank of the river Bakat, and Asaf Khatu, notwithstanding the promise of such a brave and daring enemy, was so heedless of his master's safety, that he left him on that side of the river, while he passed over the bridge to the other side, with the children and women, and the attendants and the officers. He sent over also the baggage, the treasury, the arms, etc., even to the very domestic.

Mithibat Khatu perceived that his life and honour were at stake, and that he had no resource, for he had not a single friend left near the Emperor. With 4,000 or 5,000 Rajputs who had sworn fidelity to him, he proceeded to the head of the bridge. There he left nearly 2,000 hypocrites to hold it, and to burn the bridge rather than allow

1. *Tahsilatnamah Jahangiri*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 429-30.

any one to pass over. Mahabat Khan, then proceeded to the royal quarters."

Here, Miranad Khan, who was present in Jahangir's camp at the present, gives further details of how Mahabat Khan proceeded to take possession of the Emperor: throughout he acted with great courage and strength, but never directly towards Jahangir. To proceed with Miranad's account:

"The servants who were in attendance on His Majesty informed him of this daring action. The Emperor then came out, and took his seat in a *palki* which was in waiting for him. Mahabat Khan advanced respectfully to the door of the *Palki*, and said, 'I have feared myself that escape from the real and implacable hatred of Asaf Khan is impossible, and that I shall be put to death in shame and ignominy. I have therefore boldly and presumptuously thrown myself upon Your Majesty's protection. If I deserve death or punishment, give the order that I may suffer it in your presence.'"

"The armed Rajputs now flocked in, and surrounded the royal apartments. There was no one with His Majesty but Arab Dastghah, — — and a few other attendants. The violent entrance of the faithless dog [meaning Mahabat Khan] had alarmed and enraged His Majesty, so he twice placed his hand on his sword to cleanse the world from the filthy existence of that foul dog. But each time Miranad Dastghah said, "This is a time for forbearance, have the punishment of this wicked faithless fellow to a just God: a day of retribution will come." His words seemed prudent, so His Majesty restrained himself. In a short time the Rajputs occupied the royal apartments within and without, so that no one but the servants could approach his Majesty."

Having thus secured the Emperor, Mahabat Khan realised that he ought not to allow his powerful enemies to escape. Nūr Jahan thought at first that Jahangir had gone a-buffing; but when she came to know of the real situation, she summoned the chief nobles, including her brother Asaf Khan, and addressed them in reproachful terms. "This," she said, "has all happened through your neglect and stupid arrangements. What never entered the imagination of any one has come to pass, and now you stand stricken with shame for your conduct before God and man. You must do your best to repair this evil, and *obey* what course to pursue."

With one mind and one voice they all advised that on the morrow the forces should be drawn out, and that they should pick over the river with her to defeat the rebel and deliver His Majesty. The attempt proved successful in spite of the great losses deployed by Nâr Jâidâ. Mohamed graphically describes the scene:—Horsemen and footmen, horse-cannels, and carriages, were on the bank of the river, galling each other, and pressing to the opposite shore

..... Seven or eight hundred Rûpats, with a number of war elephants in their front, occupied the opposite shore in firm array. Some of our men, horse and foot, approached the bank, in a broken and disordered multitude. The enemy pushed forward their elephants, and the horsemen came from the rear, dashed into the water, and plied their swords. Our handful of men, being without leaders, turned and fled, and the swords of the enemy tingled the water with their blood. The Begum Nâr Jâidâ had in her sister the daughter of Shabryk; whose wife (or nurse) was the daughter of Shâh Nevâis Khân. The wife received an arrow in her arm, and the Begum herself pulled it out, staining her garments with blood. The elephant on which the Begum was riding received two sword-cuts on the trunk; and when he turned round, he was wounded three times behind with spears. The Rûpats rushed after him with their drawn swords, and his drivers urged him on into the deep water. The horsemen then had to retire, and becoming afraid of being drowned, they turned back. The elephant came to shore, and the Begum proceeded to the royal shade. . . . Asaf Khân, who was the cause of this disaster, and whose folly and richness had brought ruin to this pass, when he found that he could make no longer any resistance to Mûshkât Khân, fled with his son Abû Talib, and 300 or 350 horse, baggage, and women, to the fort of Anst, which was in his gift, and closed the fortress. . . . Mûshkât Khân sent a large party of the royal shade (guards), with some of his own followers, and the auxiliaries of the neighbourhood, under the command of his son Shâh and a Rajput, to invest Anst. They reduced the fort, and Asaf Khân bowed to Fate, and bound himself by promise and oath to uphold Mûshkât.¹

By this bold coup *de main*, Mûshkât Khân had secured possession of all the important personages in the Empire and become the virtual *admiral*. But it is very strange that within a very short

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 425-26.
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turn the tables should have been turned against him. It was entirely due to the cleverness and diplomacy of Mir Jafar. Our historian says, "Mir Jafar Begum worked against him both in private and in public. She maintained a number of followers, and attracted them to herself by money and poisons. In 1756 Hushar Khan, her cousin, in compliance with her letters, got together about 2,000 men in Lahore, and proceeded to meet her. A considerable number of men had also got together round the royal court."¹

The exact details of the reversal are rather obscure. Our Chronicle only says, "His Majesty determined to hold a review of the army. He gave orders that all the soldiers, old and new, should come in two lines, from the royal shade as far as they would extend. He then directed Balad Khan, one of his attendants, to go to Mahabat Khan, and tell him that His Majesty was holding a review of the Begum's troops that day. It would be better therefore for him to postpone the usual parade of the first day, but words should pass between the two parties and settle arms. After Balad Khan, he sent Khwaja Ali Hasan to enforce his wish more strongly, and to urge Mahabat to go on a stage. The Khwaja, by cogent reasons, prevailed upon him; and, casting off all hesitations and improper exercise of power, he went on first. His Majesty followed close after, and making no stay at the first stage, he made two stages into one, and passed over the river to Rohau where he found a Court ready to receive him."² Mahabat Khan does not seem to have been so naïve a fellow as to be taken in so easily. The fact appears to be that he had acted too deferentially towards his Imperial prisoner from the very start; this gave them the necessary opportunity to make the most of their royal prestige. Besides, Mahabat Khan, in the face of the jealousy he evoked in the hearts of the other nobles by his sudden and unexpected access, could not hope to hold on for long. If he had near him some prince of the Imperial family, he might have rallied round him forces that now he had no chance of involving. His coup was the result of a sudden impulse that had occurred to him on the spur of the moment, carried out mainly as a measure of self-defence. He had neither the heart nor the resources to carry it through to its logical conclusion, viz., a revolution. He was not another Sher Khan driving out the Emperor into exile, and establishing his own dynasty.³ He was a

1: *Ibid.*, p. 426.

loyal servant trying to create an impression by means of a stratagem. So, when Majesty recovered itself he recoiled and mechanically carried out its orders.

These events happened in 1636. Meanwhile Shih Jishi had proceeded to Thatta, to take his troubled waters, and feeling ill, to go to Peking with a view to recovering his lost position with the assistance of Shih Abida. But owing to the difficulties he met with on the way, and his own illness, he determined to return to the Decan. 'Being weak and ill,' writes Miotmard, 'he was obliged to travel in a palanquin. He now received intelligence of the death of Prince Purdy (Oct. 28, 1636), and that hastened his movements. He pursued the route which Mianmid of Ghazal had taken when he plundered Samarkand. Passing by Rajapillya, he arrived at Hink Tirthang (Tintak) in the Cashmir, where he had left his stores and baggage. . . . At this time (also) died, in the seventy-second year of his age, Khin-Khine, son of Buiran Khin, one of the greatest nobles of the late Emperor Akbar, who had rendered honorable service and gained important victories.'¹

Mianmid Khin had been ordered to relieve Asaf Khin and others, and to march against Shih Jishi in Thatta. He chose instead to join forces with the disappointed Prince. Miotmard says, 'He concealed himself for some time in the hills of the Rājā's country,' and then sent persons to Shih Jishi to express contrition. The Prince received his apologies kindly, called him to his presence, and treated him with great favour and kindness.'²

Alarmed at this dangerous combination, Mir Jishi was preparing to suppress them, when the illness and death of Jahangir, on Oct. 28, 1637, changed the whole aspect of affairs. The Emperor had been ill as Kāfiruz. 'He was unable to ride on horse-back, but was carried about in a palanquin. His sufferings were great. . . . He lost all appetite for food, and rejected opium, which had been his companion for forty years. He took nothing but a few cups of the gruel.' He then started on his way back to Lahore. 'On the way he called for a glass of wine:

1. The death also is ascribed to Shih Jishi's poisoning, on the strength of a later assertion by Aurangzeb; see *ibid.* op. cit. p. 418 n. 3.

2. *Ibid.* op. cit. 413-24.

3. *R. & D.*, op. cit., VI, p. 434.

but when it was placed in his lap, he was unable to swallow. Towards night he grew worse, and died early on the following day, the 26th Sefar, 1027, A. H., in the 23rd year of his reign.¹

V. JAISINGIR AND THE EUROPEANS

Before we can appreciate the results of Jaisingir's reign and his character, it is necessary to review briefly his relations with the Europeans who threw ample light upon both. It would be convenient to consider these under three separate heads: (a) the Portuguese; (b) the French; and (c) the English.

The Portuguese power in India was definitely on the decline, due to a variety of reasons.² Perhaps two im-

(a) The Portuguese
power important causes of this were their religious intolerance and the absorption of Portugal by Spain, between 1580 and 1640. Other European powers like the Dutch and the English were fast out-stripping them in the East. Particularly, their periodical activities³ brought them into active conflict with the Mughal Empire.

In spite of Jaisingir's desire to maintain friendly relations with them, which made him send an embassy to Goa in 1607 and 1610 (under Father Pinares and Maimurah Khān), their animosity became intolerable. In 1613 the Portuguese seized four Imperial vessels containing about three millions worth of goods, near Surat. Since their Viceroy was not amenable to reason, Maimurah Khān, then Governor of Surat, withdrew a naval defeat on the Portuguese, in alliance with the English sea-captain Downton. This was followed by a very vigorous campaign against the Portuguese settled within the Empire, and the withdrawal of all privileges granted to them previously. The Portuguese, whenever they could be caught hold

¹ Ibid., p. 403.

² See Rev. H. H. Davis, *The Decay of Portuguese Power in India*, (Bombay, 1902) pp. 34-40.

³ Prof. Barker gives the following description of the horrors perpetrated by the pirates (both native and foreign) from a contemporary Persian source:—They seized the hands of their victims, and 'passed this rope through the holes, and threw them out above board under the deck of their ships. In the same manner yet again it fell to their every morning and evening they threw down from above uncooked rice to the captives in food. On their return to their homes they employed the few hand-bound captives that remained, in tilling and sowing lands according to their power, with great diligence and cheer. Others were sold to the Dutch, English, and French merchants at the ports of the Deccan.'—*History of Mughal India*, pp. 121-2.

of, was arrested, and even Father Joazeiro Xavier was placed under the custody of Mahamud Khan. The churches at Agra and Lahore were forcibly closed. This brought the Portuguese to their senses and they soon opened negotiations with the Emperor. Father Xavier was released to discuss peace terms, but the Portuguese proposals were not wholly acceptable to Jahangir: prisoners were to be released, the Emperor was to be content with taking the Portuguese property already seized as indemnity, and the Dutch and English were to be excluded from all privileges.¹ However, thanks to the efforts of the Jesuits, harmony was restored between the Portuguese and the Empire in September, 1615.² In 1622, when Shah Jahan, in the course of his rebellion, sought their assistance from Nagh, they refused it, but, on the contrary, they served as gunners in the Imperial army under Haidar Khan.

Jahangir, as we have seen, had come very early into contact with the Jesuits during his father's lifetime. He

(1) The Jesuits had formed a close friendship with Father Rodolfo Aquaviva, head of the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court. During his sojourn, as a Prince, when he set up his mock court at Allahabad, he had sought without success a mission from Goa. He had bestowed several favours and gifts, like a silver image of the infant Jesus, upon the Jesuits and their church. He had even worn round his neck a locket containing portraits of the Saviour and the Virgin, marked his letters with Christian symbols, contributed large sums for the erection of churches, and "cultivated most edifying devotion" towards the Christian faith. The fathers of the Society of Jesus had an 'elegant and commodious' church at Lahore, as well as a residence or 'priests' residence, "a comfortable building equipped with verandah and upper and lower rooms, suitable respectively for use in the cold and hot seasons. Each department of the religious work had its appropriate and convenient accommodation as in European colleges. At Agra about twenty baptisms took place in 1606, and when Jahangir was on his way to Kabul he accepted a Persian version of the Gospels and permitted the Fathers to act publicly with as much liberty as if they were in Europe. When

¹ A copy of this deed, with Fr. Xavier's signature, is said to be in the Goa archives.

² For the text of treaty see Rev. Hearn, *Jahangir and the Portuguese* (Report of the 16th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Lahore, 1924).

the Emperor returned to Agra he took two of the priests with him, leaving one at Lahore to look after the congregation there. Church processions with full Catholic ceremonial were allowed to parade the streets and cash allowances were paid from the treasury for church expenses and the support of the converts.⁷¹

The most remarkable indication of Jahāngīr's interest in the Jesuits was, perhaps, his permitting them to baptise his own nephews (sons of the late Prince Durrani). "The Princes dressed in Portuguese costume and wearing crosses of gold round their necks, proceeded on elephants from the palace to the church through streets packed with eager spectators. A large cortège from the Court accompanied them and some wary Christians—including Poles, Venetians and Armenians—joined the procession on horseback. Even the Englishman, Hawkins, who was then in Agra, put aside his Protestant prepossessions for the day and rode at the head of the procession with St. George's flag carried before him 'to the honour of the English nation.' At the church the Princes were robed with every sign of royalty and the bell was rung with such violence that it broke. The ceremony itself was impressive and the demeanour of the Princes brought tears to the eyes of the spectators. When baptised, they were given, as was then the practice, new names of a European complexion."⁷² King Philip III of Spain received these tidings with great enthusiasm, and personally addressed a letter to Jahāngīr thanking him for his benevolence towards the Christians. But after all this fuss, in five years' time the Princes 'gave their crucifixes again to the Jesuits' i.e. abjured their Christian faith, and in the words of a Jesuit writer, 'rejected the light and returned to the void.'⁷³

After the death of Father Xavier in 1617, and of Pichairo in the following year, their places were taken by Fathers Coré and Joseph de Castro. In addition to their evangelical work they were in the position of an 'agent for the Portuguese.' The former has been described as 'a great column of the Mission,' and both had unique opportunities of coming into close contact with the Emperor. Coré first came to Agra in 1624, and de Castro ten years later. The former died at the capital in 1635; the latter at Lahore, in 1646.

⁷¹ *Journal de M.*, pp. 377-78; *Atlixer*, pp. 261, 264-5. ⁷² '10 a day were paid to Fr. Xavier and similar sums to others.

⁷³ *J. Macpherson, The Jesuits and the Great Moghul*, pp. 73-4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Although both of them were Italians, their political activities were directed towards furthering the interests of the Portuguese at Court as against those of the English. Sir Thomas Roe, who arrived in India in September 1615, in a letter written a year later, describes, "how the Portuguese have crept into this kingdom and by what means they got in: the entrance of the Jesuits, their establishment, privileges, practices, ends and the growth of their church, where of they sing in Europe so loud praises and glorious successes." In spite of his obvious Protestant bias and opposing political interests, mutual relations between Roe and Cors were, according to Sir Edward Maitland, good and amicable to both.¹

The first Englishman to appear before Jahangir was Captain

(i) *The English.* William Hawkins, who arrived at Surat (on his ship *Necker*) in August, 1600, with a letter from

James I, King of Great Britain, asking for trade facilities.² He brought with him a gift of 25,000 gold pieces, and was well received by the Emperor (April 1600), in spite of the opposition of the Jesuit Father Paderne who represented Portuguese interests at the Mughal Court. Hawkins could speak Hindi and Persian and hence needed no interpreter. The bitter hostility that existed between the English and the Portuguese, on account of their rivalry at Jahangir's Court, is clearly discernible in the statements of Hawkins. He alleges that Father Paderne had bribed Mahamud Shikoh to kidnap him (Hawkins), and that he had described England as a dependency of Portugal. "The Jesuits here," he writes from Agra (1600), "do little regard their masses and their church matters for studying how to contrive my affairs." Finally, he calls them 'madde dogges, labouring to work my passage out of the world,' and says that they had to be warned by the Emperor, that if aught happened to Hawkins, they would be held responsible. When a Protestant follower of Hawkins died at Agra, the Jesuits refused to allow him to be buried in the Christian cemetery. When Hawkins returned as

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-4.

² "It was a singular situation," observes Lane-Poole, for a bluff un-certain to find himself, in an unknown land, called upon to meet a great emperor about whose identity nothing was known in England. There was nothing to suggest the great distant dress that in two centuries and a half the slight introduction Hawkins was then offering between England and India would culminate in the sovereignty of a British Queen over the whole empire, where the "light of the world" and her imperial legend had reigned." *Mughal India*, pp. 220-221.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Armenian Christian lady, 'to avoid being persecuted,' they declined to perform the customary salute he acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope.¹ Later, however, their relations, slightly improved. But, soon the less, when Houghton left India, in 1611, in disgust, his mission had been thoroughly discredited on account of the Jesuits, and Father Xavier represented that some ultramontane function had attempted to disturb the happy progress of the Catholic faith in Mogor, but that the King on discovering their perfidy had banished them from the country.²

The next Englishman of note to appear at the Court of Jahāngīr was one Paul Canning, who too appears to have come to Agra (1600) with a further letter from King James. His experience was no better than that of his predecessor. English accounts still speak of 'those pestling, juggling Jesuits' and their great influence at the Court. 'The lying Jesuits,' we are told, were 'feeding the king daily with presents and strange toys,' and poisoning his mind against the English. But the strained relations between the Empire and the Portuguese, to which reference has already been made, changed the whole situation for the time being (1611-15). The Jesuits with the Portuguese stood thoroughly discredited. It was at this time, when they were still 'in deep disgrace with the king and people' that the third English 'ambassador,' William Edwards came from Surat (1605) also with a letter from King James. But the most important and the most famous of the English representatives was Sir Thomas Roe. Smith describes him as 'a gentleman of good education, a polished courtier, and trained diplomatist, well qualified for the task assigned to him, which was the negotiation of a treaty giving security to English trade.'³ He was accompanied (since

1. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

2. 'Roe had come to complete what Houghton had only partly accomplished as offering. The English agents and traders were still in a hostile-looking position, subject to all kinds of indignities, presenting to be regarded as "evil spirits, and obnoxious to men and beasts for such slight facilities as they could win." Their ships, the agents of the East India Company, had brought down upon their names by "Kutumba," the Moghal dignitary charged to look, ensuring no trace of dignity, and had even "suffered slaves of the palace, from Poona, and some taken out by them with much scorn by hand and chains without making satisfaction." Englishmen were abused, arrested, arrested, even whipped in the streets. It was evident that a different manner of men (John Harrison, op. Edwards was good to receive the embassy down to our times and Stuart—*Spence's*, op. cit., pp. 104-5). Sir Roe, according to the Director of the E. I. Co., was a man 'of a prompt understanding, well spoken, learned, industrious and of a ready penmanship.'

1616) by his chaplain Terry, whose account 'is far superior to that of Roe, as a description of the country and Government.'¹ He too met with difficulties similar to those of his predecessor: "when he had hopes of a speedy despatch on his account, Roe found objections raised at the last moment 'a political being' as he said, 'not in counsellage'". His own draft of the treaty he wanted to negotiate provided for the free access of the English to all ports belonging to the Great Moghul, including those of Bengal and Sind, and the free passage of their goods without payment of any duty beyond the usual customs; they were to be allowed to buy and sell freely, to rent factories, to have boats and carts, and to buy provisions at the usual rates; while other articles directed against the collection of the effects of deposed rulers, the obscuring claims to invest the persons of the merchants on going ashore, the opening of presents intended for the King, delays in the custom-house and other similar abuses. On the part of the English, Roe was willing to engage that they should not molest the ships of other nations, 'except the enemies of the said English, or any other that shall seek to injure them,' and that their factors while residing ashore, should 'behave themselves peaceably and civilly,' that they should do their best to procure revenues for the Great Moghul, and should furnish him (upon payment) with any goods or furniture of war that he could reasonably desire, and that they should assist him against 'any enemy to the common peace.' The Portuguese were to be admitted to 'enter into the said peace and league,' should they be willing, but if they did not do so within six months, the English were to be permitted to treat them as enemies and make war upon them at sea, 'without any offence to the said Great King of India.'² Roe did not succeed in this, though he remained in India for over three years and went about with Jahangir in his southern tour (Miriail and Ahmednihil), and finally left India on February 17, 1619. He had arrived at Surat (Sooly Road) on September 16, 1615. Although his mission was a failure he has

¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

² Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

³ Fower (Istiad, *etc.*), cited by Deu Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63.

⁴ Roe wrote: "Munro will this overgrown Rajahat 15000000 Imperials desired to Article or league himself inseparably to any Prince upon whom of England; but only by way of former subject war stay." All that Jahangir could suggest was 'you shall be none of us such privileges as any stranger.' The ambassador says of the Moghul officials: 'their Justice is generally good to strangers, they are not, dishonest, corrupt'

revealed with grace the manner of her reception as well as departure from the Great Mogul. "I had required, before my going," he writes, "leave to see the customs of my country, which was freely granted, so that I would perform them punctually. When I entered within the first rail, I made a reverence; entering in the second rail, another; and when I came under the King, a third. The place is a great court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little gallery overhead, surrounded, the great men and strangers of equality, within the innermost rail under him, raised from the ground, covered with carpets of velvet and silk, underneath laid with gold carpets, the middle room representing gallery, within the first rail, the people without, in a lower court, but so that all may see the King. Thus sitting out both as much affinity with a divine, the manner of the King in his gallery; the great men lifted on a stage, as actors, the vulgar going on, that an easy description will inform of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull interpretation, welcoming me to the brother of my master. I delivered His Majesty's letter translated; and after my commendation, wherein he looked seriously, after my presents which were well received. He asked some questions; and, with a seeming care of my health [Raj had just recovered from an illness], offered me his physicians, and advising me to keep me home till I had recovered strength, and if, in the interim, I needed anything, I should freely send him and obtain my desire. He dismissed me with more favour and courteous grace than by the Christians I were not accustomed, than ever any shows in any ambassador either of the Turk or Persian or other whatsoever."

VI. SUCCESSSES AND FAILURES OF JAHANGIR

The character and achievements of Jahangir are more difficult to assess than those of any of his predecessors or successors. He

is searching for things to please, and what truthfully we have is by force of flattery, and by our own flattery." He named the Company, "A vir and Gadage are indistinguishable. By my consent, you shall so may engage ourselves but at us, where you are like to gain as often as to lose. It is the beginning of the Portuguese, notwithstanding his many rich revenues and territories, that he begins to believe that speaks it; yet his passions are mean. He never pleased by the Indies since he deflected them. Observe this well. It hath been also the error of the Dutch, who seek Persians here by the sword. They have a wonderful spirit, they speak in all places, they possess more of the land; yet the *Old* Persians despise all the gains. Let this be required as a rule that if you sell Persia, sell it at Sea, and in open trade, for without controversy it is ~~never~~ to affect persons and land were in India."

was indeed, as Vincent Smith has characterised him, 'a strange conjunction of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness.' But, if a balance were to be struck, between the credit and debit side of his life, there is little doubt, his assets were far greater than his liabilities. To enter upon a detailed discussion of this subject would take us far beyond our limits; but the reader will not find it difficult to draw illustrative material from what has been said already and what follows. Jahling's love of ease, his self-indulgence in drink and love, his caprice and cruelty, and his expenditure and childishness are numerous, but his love of justice, religious toleration, energy when a situation demanded it, wisdom in the recognition of merit, whether in the arts or in politics, are all worthy of due appreciation and praise. Whatever the faults of his youth, which clung to him through later life, the period of his rule as Emperor was a continuous and honest striving to maintain and extend the principles and dominions of his great father; no ruler could do better, and Jahling is to be understood in this light, if he is to be understood at all. The judgments of his contemporaries as well as modern critics will bear out what we have said:

"When he (Jahling) ascended the throne in 1608, at the age of thirty-seven, his character, never wanting in certain inherent good-nature, had matured. He had become less strange and more sober: by day he was the person of temperance, at night he became attracting 'glorious'. . . . Jahling carried his daylight sobriety as far as even to publish an edict against intemperance, and circulated his far more

1. "I myself have been accustomed to take wine," wrote Jahling, "and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the thirty eighth year of my age, have regularly partaken of it. In early days, when I turned for drink I necessarily took as many as twenty cups of double distilled liquor. In course of time it took great effort upon me, and I am almost refusing the quantity. In the period of seven years I brought it down to five or six cups. My friends at drinking varied, sometimes I began when two or three hours of the day remained, sometimes I took it at night and a little in the day. So it was until my thirtieth year, when I resolved to drink only at night, and at present I drink it only to promote digestion of my food."—*Diary*, B. B. P., pp. 104, 115, p. 126. Dr. Thomas Bow reports how he was ruled by Jahling to drink: "I drank a little, but it was more strong than ever I tasted, so that it made me much relieved by laughter, and called for rumors, alehouse, and good houses, which every brought me on a piece of gold and back me out and drink what I would, and no more."—*Lane-Park, Contemporary Sources*, p. 100.

contemptible 'beastly' James of Great Britain by writing a Persian pamphlet against tobacco.¹ In spite of his vices which his fine constitution supported with little apparent injury almost to his sixtieth year, he was no fool; he possessed a shrewd intellect, and he showed his good sense in carrying on the government and principles of toleration inaugurated by Akbar. He was not deficient in energy when war was about; he was essentially just when his passions were not thwarted; and he cultivated religious tolerance with the easy-going indifference which was the key-note of his character. The son of an eclectic philosopher, and a Rajput prince, he professed himself a Muslim, restored the Mohammedan formulae of faith which Akbar had abandoned on the village, and revived the Han chronology, whilst preserving for royal years and months the more convenient solar system. But he followed his father's policy towards the Hindus, and was equally tolerant towards Christians." (*Mutabar India*, pp. 299-300)

"Jahangir's first measures were of a much more benevolent and just character than might have been expected of him. He confirmed most of his father's old edicts in their stations; and issued others, revivifying some ancient statutes which had survived Akbar's reforms, forbidding the holes of merchants to be opened by persons in authority without their free consent, directing that no soldiers or servants of the State should quarter themselves on private houses, abolishing the punishments of cutting off ears and noses, and introducing other salutary regulations. Notwithstanding his own notorious habits, he strictly forbade the use of wine, and regulated that of opium; subjecting all offenders against his rules to severe punishment."

Regarding Mir Jinnah's influence over Jahangir, he says "Though her ~~very~~ very ~~personal~~ personal ~~and~~ and ~~consequence~~ consequence in the end, it was ~~the~~ the ~~whole~~ whole. Her father was a wise and upright minister; and it must have been, in part at least, owing to her influence that a great improvement took place in the conduct of Jahangir after the first few years of his reign. He was still capricious and tyrannical; but he was no longer guilty of such heinous crimes as before; and

1. "As the smoking of tobacco had taken very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practice the habit. My brother Mirza Akbar (King of Persia), also being aware of the evil which had caused a movement against the use of it in Persia, Jahangir. *Woods*, II. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 256.

although he still carried his sceptre as usual to the lowest steps of balcony, yet it was at night, and in his private apartments. In conversations which kept him all day before the eyes of his subjects, he seems to have supported his character with sufficient dignity, and without any breach of decorum. Mr. Jahn's capacity was not less remarkable than her grace and beauty; it was carried in nature proper to her sex, as well as in state officers. The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense was diminished by her good arrangement. She introduced improvements in the furniture of apartments; introduced female dress more becoming than any in use before her time; and it is a question in India whether it is to her or her father that they owe the invention of shawls of wool.¹ One of the accomplishments by which she distinguished Jahangir is said to have been her facility in composing sentences *versus*.² (*History of India*, pp. 353-51, 555-56).

"Terry truly observes: 'Now for the disposition of that King

(Jahangir), it never seemed unto me to be com-

posed of extremes;

for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times he would seem to be exceeding fair and gentle.' He was capable of feeling the most poignant grief for the loss of a grandchild, and often showed pleasure in doing little acts of kindly charity. His writings are full of keen observations on natural objects. He went to Kashmir nearly every hot season, and recorded a capital description of the country, carefully drawing up a list of the Indian birds and beasts not to be found in the Happy Valley. He loved fine scenery, and would go into cottages over a waterfall. He thought the market blossoms of the *dhak* or *jalka* tree 'so beautiful that one cannot take one's eyes off it'; and was in raptures over the wild flowers of Kashmir."

Then after commenting on Jahangir's love of fine arts,³ Smith

1. 'At of noon, the most excellent of perfumes, was discovered in my reign. The mother of our Jahangir discovered the use of cologne for all which came to the palace when macassar is washed, and the having been done, the oil was found to be a most powerful perfume.—Jahangir in *Wajmah*, K. & D., pp. 48, 51, 52.

2. 'This day,' writes Jahangir, 'Abul Hasan, a painter, who bore the title of *Mahabara Karam*, drew a portrait of our Court, and presented it to me. He had attached it also inscriptions to the *Jahangir-nama*. As it was well worthy of praise, I loaded him with great favours. He was an elegant painter; and had no match in his time. If the celebrated artists Abul Has and Mahabara were now alive, they would do him full justice for his exquisite taste in painting. His father Abu Sam, was

quotes the Emperor's *Memoirs* on his sense of justice,¹ and proceeds : " His religion is not easy to define. Given Sir Thomas Roe scarcely denounced him as an atheist, but he was not exactly that. He sincerely believed in God, although he did not frankly accept any particular revelation or subscribe to any definite creed He had not the slightest desire to persecute anybody on account of his religion. It is true that he passed severe edicts against the Jews of Calicut, whom his father had so greatly admired, but that was because for some reason or other he considered them to be wicked. . . . His personal religion seems to have been a vague belief, either taught by heretical Muhammadan Sufis, or the very similar doctrine of certain Hindu sages." The material for

sleeps with me while I was a Prince, and his son was born in my household. Moreover, she was so far superior to the ladies : I gave her a good education, and took care to cultivate her mind from his youth till he became one of the most distinguished men of his age. The portraits furnished by him were beautiful. Murad is also a master of the art of drawing, and he has the taste of Nadir I. And, in the time of my father and my own, there have been men to compare with these two sultans. I saw very good pictures, and have such discrimination in judging them, that I can tell the name of the artist (not seeing his name), whether living or dead. If there were similar portraits painted by several artists, I could point out the manner of each." *Journal, E. & E., op. cit., VI, pp. 100-101.* The editor also cites the following observation from Gersaint's *History of the Royal Drawing, p. 176* :— " In that time there were found, in the Indies, various pictures that copied the finest of our European pictures with a fidelity that might vie with the originals. He was partial to the schools of Europe, and it was this which attracted him to the *Shahs*."

Mr T. has also noticed, " You had presented Jahangir a picture, which he told his own artists could exactly copy : ' At night he sent for me, being busy to triumph in his workman, and showed me six pictures, five quite by his work, all raised on one table, as like that I was by another. Eight stretched to shewers which was within : I looked beyond all expectation : yet showed my own, and the difference which was in art apparent, but not to be judged by the common eye. But for that, at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyful and cracked like a Northern man."—*Journal, Laro-Poch, Contemporary Sources, p. 98.*

1. Referring to a capital sentence passed on an influential murderer (Jahangir observes) : " God forbid that in such affairs I should resemble Princes, and let him that I should consider *Amirs*." They speak of the " grand and quiet justice which I gave the people in such order that there are not many executions." Jahangir stated that for the first he personally saw the Emperor and complained to him about his distress : next at Surin, Jahangir had already got the official report and taken the first steps towards justice. If the local officials were guilty of justice, Jahangir observes, " it is well if they escape with the loss of their heads."

² After on Jahangir's religious policy.—But for a few pages, Jahangir's religious policy was, in the main, a continuation of his father Akbar's, based on principles of wide toleration. The emphasis was mostly due to religious and political being inseparable in life. The prosecution of the Sikh Guru Arjan and of Miran Miran the Qashghar Jinn leader at Ahmed-

discourse on Jelling's interesting personality is to abundant that it would be easy to write at large on the subject." (*O. R.*, pp. 287-88).

about 1760, at the time of Kildner's rebellion, declared that Jelling's support would come to an end in two years) are not indicative of the general policy. The Sikhs as a community were not persecuted by Jelling; the religiousness against the Jains was long withdrawn. Jelling was the Christian "persecutor" on account of the fall of the Portuguese, but no matter that point was raised, they were very much respected in the royal houses. They observed: "All religions are tolerated and their precepts held in high esteem. Jelling often received from the Mughal himself the application of Father with other many gracious words, with place among the last words." Peter Della Vigna (1812-18) says, that the Hindus and Muslims "live all mixed together and peacefully, because the great Mughal . . . makes no difference in his dominions between the one sect and the other, and both in his eyes and actions, and even among men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration."

Nevertheless, if Jelling's aim that the preaching of any religious teacher had harmful consequences on the Empire, he did not hesitate to interfere. Two instances, both Muslims, are on record: the Afghan Sheikh Durr-Allah Khan was appointed at Chapir (1808) for his religious views "disputable and hostile" and he had gathered together a large following of Afghans near Lahore; in 1815, Mulla, Mulla Ahmad, a celebrated Hindu dross of Ghazni, who claimed to be the Messiah, was imprisoned at Ghazni, and placed in the custody of a Rajput. Mulla Ahmad had written a book called the *Mahabharat* which was judged to contain "many unprofitable things; calculated to do people's heads and hearts and impiety." Two years later the Mulla returned and was released; he was not only set free but also given a grant of honour and considerable sums of money more than once. (*North Prospect* p. 103).

Jelling's interest in converting Islam and India was remarkable. In 1812-13 he wrote of Jelling: "On January for the second time, my faith for the conquest of India increased. After performing the ordinary devotions . . . I sat and enjoyed his society in the retirement of his cell. I heard many valuable words of religious duty and knowledge of divine things. Without exaggeration, he set forth clearly the doctrine of wholesome Islam, and we can find delight in his words. He is sixty years of age. He was 12 when, forsaking all external attachments, he placed the foot of determination on the highway of asceticism, and for 50 years he had lived in the garment of nakedness . . . God Almighty has granted him an unusual grace, a holy understanding, an exalted nature and keen intellectual powers, etc. . . . On Wednesday I again went and took him goodbye. Unhappily parting from him weighed upon my mind which leaves the truth." Sir Thomas Roe records another instance of a Faith visit to Jelling: "The miserable wretch, clothed in rags, covered with injuries, covered with sores, his impatience lasted with me about an hour, with such familiarity and show of kindness that it must needs strike a stranger not easily found among kings. The latter sat where he [Jelling] sat and did not do . . . and after many strange invocations and charities, rising, the old wretch not being able, he took him up in his arms which he slowly laid down on the ground, embracing him; and three times kissing his head on his heart, calling him father, he left him and all of us, in admiration of such virtue in a barbarian prince. What I wonder with awe and sorrow that we, having the true way, should bring forth such and a bastard stock paper; that while our Christian princes had this devotion or that they were guided by a true light of the Gospel."

"Jahangir is one of the most interesting figures in Mughal history. The ordinary view that he was a pleasure-loving, sensual pleasure-seeker and a callous tyrant does him less than justice. All accounts agree that he was intelligent, shrewd, and capable of understanding the most complex problems of the state without any difficulty. . . . There is much in his character that deserves to be understood, but there is a great deal that entitles him to be placed among the most fascinating personations of Indian history." (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 524-26).

"Justly to denote him (Jahangir) as a hard-hearted, fickle-minded tyrant, washed in wine and work as blood, is at once undemocratic and unjust. His fame has been eclipsed by the transcendent glory of his father and the dazzling splendour of his son. . . . His memory has suffered from the Mughal fair re-

lief. Here is a delightful portrait of Jahangir from the pen of Havelock Ellis:—Now here I mean to speak a little of his manners and customs in the Court. First in the morning, about the break of day, he is at his toilet with his hair combed to the westward. The manner of his dressing when he is in Agra, is as a private fair room, upon a goodly set of stairs having only a Persian lamp-room under him. At the upper end of the room the pictures of our Lady and Christ are placed against the wall; so he cometh out his hands and with 2200 words according to the number of beads, next then his prayer is ended. After he hath done, he sheweth himself to the people, receiving their salutes or good-mornings, unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, he sleeps two hours more, and then awakes, and passeth his time with his women; and at noon he sheweth himself to the people again, sitting all down of the clock, viewing and seeing his petitions and requests made by men and signing of many sorts of letters, every day surely hath of business.

"Then at three of the clock all the gentry in general that be in Agra and are well, resort unto the Court, the King coming forth in open audience sitting in his seat royal, and every man standing at his degree before him, his chestnut seat of cushions standing within the red net, and the rest without. . . . The King searcheth all crimes in this place and straightly sends two hours away day.

"Then he departs to his private place of prayer; his prayer being ended four or five acts of very well devised and painted scenes are brought him, at which as he pleases he entereth a libel to stay his stomach, drinking none of his strong drink. Then he cometh forth into a private room, where none can come but such as himself peradventure (for two years I was one of his physicians there). In this place he drinketh either three cups of tea, which is the portion that the physicians offer him. This done he speaketh again, and then he awakes and being in the height of his drink, he sends him down to sleep, everyman departing to his own home. And after he hath slept two hours they awake him and bring his supper to him; at which he is not able to feed himself, but it is thrust into his mouth by others; and thus is spent one of the clock. And then he sleeps the rest of the night.—*Reliquiae, Lane-Poole*, (*Contemporary Sources*, pp. 46-50).

posed in historical legends and traditional tales. His career has been viewed and judged in isolated passages.

"From a review of his life as a whole, he comes out sensible, kind-hearted man, with strong family affection and unswerving generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as prince and emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of barbarous cruelty. But on a whole, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and open hand. . . ."

"Sir Henry Elliot has drawn up a strong indictment of Jahāngir and argued in particular, that his celebrated edicts were neither original in conception nor effective in practice. The first charge may be admitted at once, but is it a charge at all? Originality in administrative organisation is extremely rare. Neither Akbar nor Sher Shah had much of it. The test of a statesman consists not in originality but in selection and adaptation of ideas and practices. It is true, again, that the imperial ordinances were not uniformly carried out, but the responsibility rests with the inherent circumstances of the time. No Government in the middle ages, with a large area under its jurisdiction, could make its authority effectively felt on the borders. Until his health failed him, Jahāngir exerted himself manfully to shield his subjects from the oppression of his officers. . . ."

"Jahāngir's reign, on the whole, was fruitful of peace and prosperity to the Empire. Under its auspices industry and commerce progressed, architecture achieved notable triumphs; painting reached its high-water mark, literature flourished as it had never done before: Tulsidās composed the *Rāmāyana*, which forms at once the Homer and the Bible, the *Shikōpurnā* and the *Milton* of the towering culture of Northern India. A host of admirable Persian and vernacular poets all over the country continued to make the period the Augustan age of modern Indian literature. The political side of Jahāngir's history is interesting enough but its value lies in cultural development" (*History of Jahāngir*, pp. 620-28).

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Kallenberg (ed., 1992) Fienberg (ed., 1995) Gold & Joffe (1997-98, & 1999) Steinsaltz (submitted, 1998)

Datt & Shalizi (submitted, 1999) Peña (submitted, 1999) Aronowicz (1999-2000) Marlet (submitted, 1999)

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY.—I. *Primary*. (i) *Tarikh-i-Jahāngīrī* or 'Memoirs of Jahāngīr,' already noticed, forms an important source of information for the period it covers. So too are the other histories of the reign of Jahāngīr referred to in the previous chapter.

(ii) *Shāh-nāma* of Kāsemī, who entered the service of Shāh Jahān in the fifth year of his reign. Kāsemī was the first to receive orders from Shāh Jahān to write an account of his reign of which he has covered only the first ten years. It is also called *Tārīkh-i Shāh Jahān Dastavīz*, and forms the basis of most other later works.

(iii) *Shāh-nāma* of Abul Ḥusain Lahūrī, who died in 1604 a.h., deals in detail with the first twenty years of Shāh Jahān's reign. Despite its laboured style, which is too ornate at places, it contains "a solid substratum of historical matter, from which the history of this reign has been drawn by later writers." One of its MS. copies now available is considered "a most excellent specimen of the Oriental art of calligraphy" and contains an autograph of the Emperor Shāh Jahān. Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 8-77.

(iv) *Shāh Jahān-nāma* of Inayat Khān, who held responsible administrative posts under Shāh Jahān, and was on intimate terms of friendship with the Emperor, sums up the earlier histories and carries the story up to the end of 1637-8. The author says in his preface: "It seemed to the writer of these pages that, as he and his ancestors had been devoted servants of the Imperial dynasty, it would be well for him to write the history of the reign of Shāh Jahān in a simple and clear style, and to reproduce the contents of the three volumes of Shāh Abul Ḥusain in plain language and in a condensed form. Such a work (he thought) would not be superfluous, but rather a gain. Hence, he calls his work also *Mafākher-nāma* or 'Abridgement.' Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 78-120.

(v) *Other Shāh Jahān-nāmas*. There are several other works of the same name; two of which might be very briefly alluded to:

(a) *Amal-i Shāh* of Muḥammad Shāh Kāndhī, one of the noted calligraphers of the period, deals with the whole life of Shāh Jahān—from his birth to his death in 1627. Besides writing of persons,

rabies, and officers, the work also speaks of 'learned men, physicians, poets and fine writers who were contemporary with Shāh Jahān.' (iv) *Shāh Jahān-nāma* of Muhammad Shāh Khān, somewhat similar to the above, is perfectly of value as it formed the basis of Khudō Khān's history of the reign of Shāh Jahān Fortunate and notable in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 121-44.

For the Persian sources see Dr. Hasan Piruz Shāh's *History of Shāhjahān of Delhi*, pp. 1-22.

II. *European* (i) Sir Thomas Roe's *Embassy*, noticed in the previous chapter, throws some light on Shāh Jahān's early career as Prince. (ii) François Pélaut's *Reminiscences* is the account of a Dutch factor who was in India for sixteen years (1630-47). He believes in Shāh Jahān's guilt in the murder of Khurrah, condemns Muz Jahān's dominion, and makes interesting observations on prohibition of son-daughter for which, among other reasons, he gives the economic one, viz., that costs the everything that is done by women in Holland.—Mornland and Geyl, Cambridge 1932. (iii) Dr. Laet's *Description of India and Fragment of Indian History*, already noticed. (iv) Pietro Della Valle (1603-57), an Italian traveller, in particular, was impressed by the religious toleration within the Empire. His descriptions of the places he visited (Western India) are graphic and valuable.—Pub. Hakluyt Society. (v) Minckley the German traveller was in India for a very short time (1632-39). His account, first published in 1638, contains much fiction mixed with some facts relating both to Mughal administration and history.—Harris's *Treasury*, Vol. II. (vi) Peter Mandu, who came to India in 1638 and left eight years later, gives a most interesting and valuable record.—Ed. Temple, Pub. Hakluyt Society 1914-15. (vii) The Portuguese Fr. Sebastian Manrique travelled through N. India in 1640-42 and published his *Itinerario* in 1649 at Rome. He seems to have been well impressed with the prosperity of the country and people, and also speaks well of the orderliness of the Mughal camp. He attributes the planning of the Taji to Ottobiano Yeroles.—Pub. Hakluyt Society. (viii) The two French travellers Bernier and Tavernier are the most famous of European visitors of the period. The former, a well educated and experienced traveller, came to India in 1668 and stayed for twelve years. His work was first published in 1670. He was witness to many of the events he described or had access of reliable information. Yet, as Mornland points out, it is not to be accepted without critical scrutiny

and religious. The often, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, rightly regarded as the 'Prince of Travellers', had also travelled widely in Europe before he came to India in 1665. His observations of social and economic conditions are valuable, but not equally so regarding political events. He said a good deal of the 'where business relate to like there is nothing to be hoped for by these *Fisques*.' (Barnett, in Constable, ed. Smith, Oxford U. Press, 1814. Tavernier, in Hall, *Memorials*, 1888.)

(iii) Last, but not least, Maudslayi Mowat, the Indian adventurer already noticed, is an important source of information for the period. He was a loyal partisan of Dara and hated Aurangzeb for his treacherous conduct. After many vicissitudes he again entered service under Prince Siddi Alam in 1678 and saw much of the politics and social life of India. But like most other European writers he is not to be depended upon where he speaks, not from personal knowledge or experience, but merely from hearsay and bitter gossip. He died in India in 1717. His *Stories de Mager* translated by William Irvine as four bulky volumes is rather too diffuse, and an abridged edition of the same in one volume, containing his experiences relevant to our purposes, has been published by his daughter Margaret L. Irvine, under the title—*A Fable of Mager India* (John Murray, London, 1812). *Pere Caron's Histoire Generale de l'Empire de Mager* (1786) was founded on Mowat's narrative.

3. **Sources.**—1. *History of Shahjahan of Delhi* by Dr. Barrow Pypard Salomon is a most welcome addition to the critical monographs that have recently appeared on the lives of the Mughal Emperors. Sir Wolsey Haig, in his foreword to the book, writes: "Salomon treats his subject with galesworthy impartiality. Shahjahan, in his hands, is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish on his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is he the monster of moral depravity described by some European travellers who have flavoured their pages with the scandalous gossip of the perfumes of the court."—*The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1932*, Pp. i-xxx contain a critical discussion of the sources, Persian and European. There is also a classified bibliography at the end of the book, pp. 245-49.

2. *The Aurang and the Great Mager* by Sir Edward Mowat, Ch. VI, pp. 89-120.

3. *History of India* by Mountstuart Elphinstone, pp. 574-602.

4. *Studies in Medieval India* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar for 'The Daily Life of Shah Jahan'; 'Wealth of India, 1656'; 'What Bred the Taj?' pp. 1-32 (1919).

History of Aurangzeb, Vols. I & II, by the same—M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1912.

5. *History of the Reign of Shah Jahan* by Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, appearing in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras.

6. *Shah Jahan*, by Jost, L. S. (London 1924), though it belongs to a category far removed from history, is an interesting contribution.

7. "The Architecture of the Taj and its Architect,"—S. C. Mukherjee (I. H. Q. IX, 4, 1934).

8. "Rebellion of Shah Jahan and his career in Bengal,"—S. N. Bhattacharya (I. H. Q. X).

9. "Prince Shah Jahan in Bengal,"—Sri Ram Sharma (J. I. N., Dec. 1934 & I. H. Q. Mar. XII).

10. "Shah Jahan's Embassy to China,"—C. S. K. Rao Sahab (Journal of the Asiatic Hist. Society, Oct. 1934).

11. "Religious Policy of Shah Jahan,"—Sri Ram Sharma (I. H. Q. Mar. 1935).

12. Read K. R. Quango's Review of Sakuma's *Shah Jahan* in M. R. June 1934 (Corrections & supplements) pp. 462-3.

13. "Life and Art in the Mughal Period: the mental background of Mughal painting and its reflection in Art"—Hermann Goetz, B. U. I., V 4, 1934. Also, "Indo-Muslim Architecture in its Islamic setting", by the same writer, Ibid. VIII, 4, Jan. 1940.

14. "Tadrisat-us-salam"—a rare Ms. 6, 960 A.D.=1543 A.D. of the post Auriz State with autographs of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.—S. A. Stein in J. B. O. R. S., XXX, 1 (Mar. 1944).

15. "Rebellion of Shah Jahan and his career in Bengal" Sudhanda Nath Bhattacharya, I. H. Q., X, 4, Dec. 1934.

16. "Indo-Muslim Architecture," M. A. Chughassa, A. B. O. R. I., XXII, 1-2, 1942.

CHAPTER VII

GOLDEN AGE OF THE EMPIRE

'Gulistan . . . is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish on his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is he the monster of equal depravity described by some European travellers.'—Sir WALTER HART.

The expenditure of Aurangzeb was not a fourth of the cost of this reign and yet the King quickly amassed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate under his predecessors.—*Asiatic Researches*.

The thirty years of Shah Jahan's rule found the Empire at its zenith, in point of prosperity though not in extent. On the whole, they were years of peace and plenty, with few internal disturbances of any formidable character; the only wars, whether successful or otherwise, were those of aggression, and intended to extend the boundaries of the Empire. Until the Empire was convulsed by the War of Succession, following on the death of Shah Jahan, it had held forth the promise of a most glorious epoch in the history of India. But events soon showed that there were worms hidden in the gilded web, and all that glistered was not gold. The failure of Imperial arms on the north-west frontier, the destruction of temples by Shah Jahan, and the internecine feuds that were brewing—all indicated an ominous augury for the future of the Empire. The reign of Shah Jahan which had commenced with calm was not destined to end without it. Though Shah Jahan was of a more mild disposition than his father, his rule was not without contrasts: it was an epoch of grandeur not altogether unclouded with symptoms of decay. It was both glorious and precarious at one and the same time.

The principal phases may be classified under the following heads:—I. Early Life and Accession; II. Rebellions and Minor Conquests; III. Kandahar and Madadshah; IV. The Deccan; V. War of Succession; and VI. The Golden Age.

I. EARLY LIFE AND ACCESSION

The early career of Shah Jahan has been too clearly delineated in the last chapter to need repetition; yet a few important details may be commented here. He was born on
60 Early Life
Thursday, January 5, 1622 at Lahore. His

mother was the Rajput Princess (daughter of Raja Udal Singh of Mewar) valiantly called Jagan Gosain, Jodisha, and Mamerai. Salim had married in 1555. He had been christened Akbarus or 'the Joyous' and brought up under the care of Akbar's childless wife Begum Beroz. Although he had no death of literary teachers, the young Prince, from the very beginning, showed a decided turn for more practical pursuits. In spite of his sharp wit and strong memory he got away at home with the bow and arrow, swordsmanship and riding, than with Persian and Turki. About his sixth year he suffered from small-pox, the recovery from which delighted Akbar so much that the occasion was celebrated with sheep-slaying and the setting free of some prisoners. In 1566 Prince Khuram was first entrusted with responsibilities of a public character, when he was left in nominal charge of the capital (with of course a Council of Regency) during Jodha's absence on pretext of the rebellious Prince Miran. In 1567 he received the rank of 5,000 *Din* and 3,000 *Sauks*, with a flag and drums: the same year he was betrothed to Ashpand Bano Begum, the daughter of Asaf Khan, more famous as *Mumtaz-i-Mahal*, the Lady of the *Taj*. This was followed by his participation to the *Sarkis* of *Wazir Pasha* which was the virtual declaration of his accession to the throne. Two years later, he was again betrothed: this time a daughter of Mirza Mansur Hasan Salim (of the house of Shah Ismail of Turki). This marriage strictly enough took place in 1570, whereas that with the latter *Shah* was celebrated only two years later, in 1572. In addition to these, Khuram married a third wife, daughter of Shah Nader Khan (grandson of Baisam Khan), in 1577.

His children of any note were all by his second and most celebrated wife, *Mumtaz Begum*: they were fourteen in all, out of whom only seven survived—(1) *Jahangir Begum* was born at Agra, in 1564; (2) *Shah Shikoh*, in the same city, in 1569; (3) *Shah Shikoh*, also at Agra, in 1570; (4) *Roshanara Begum*, at Burhanpur, in 1571; (5) *Jahangir*, at *Dehli* on Oct. 24, 1572; (6) *Mirza Salim* at *Rohas*, in 1573; and *Gulshara Begum* at *Burhanpur* in 1575.

"The history of Jahangir's reign," writes Dr. Salomon, "is really a record of the brilliant victories won by Prince Khuram . . . His character appears by every mark of progress, his devotion to duty, and his desire to progress, all combined to secure for him a successful

career. Capgras grew into a reputation over his brothers, and rival pirate fathers more than ever added to his glory. He had never to wait for an opportunity; it came to him automatically.¹

Kharraz's first great triumph was against Mewar in 1614. It was an illustration of his pluck and tactics, he had apparently succeeded where other veterans had failed. It is strange that Vincent Smith should describe him as wanting to die as a military leader.² Dr. Salmons is wiser in his observation that the subjugation of Mewar enhanced the glory of the Mughal Empire, and that, by this victory, Kharraz's reputation as a general of considerable skill and ability was established beyond doubt; and he was ranked out as the rising star.³

The second great chance of his life came to Kharraz when he was appointed to the northern command (1616-17), in succession to his elder brother Fardis

(2) Deccan

and other reputed generals. Already raised to the dignity of 20,000 *Ḍāḥ* and 10,000 *Sauḍ* Kharraz was now given the title of *Shāh*, never before bestowed on any Mughal Prince, and placed in full charge of the Deccan. 'Mewar revealed him as a skilful general, and the Deccan as a clever statesman.'⁴ He was further exalted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *Ḍāḥ* and 20,000 *Sauḍ* and given the title of *Shāh Jahan*. Then followed gifts and offerings 'such as had never come in any reign or time' (amounting in all to Rs. 2,250,000). Finally, *Shāh Jahan* was given charge of the province of Gujarat (1618), in recognition of his meritorious services.

To crown all, the operations carried on unsuccessfully against

(3) Kharraz

Kharraz, since 1618, gave *Shāh Jahan* his prized opportunity. He won his laurels again at this point towards the close of 1618.

The first triumph of *Shāh Jahan* in the Deccan was really a

(4) Deccan again

piece of good luck for him, but it secured no permanent peace for the Empire. The corrupt fees and quarrels of the Mughal officers, on the one hand, and the courage and cleverness of Mulla Ambar, on the other, had resulted in opening the tables against the Empire, since the withdrawal of *Shāh Jahan* in 1617. He was, therefore, again called to the *Shāh*

1. Bengalee Pressed Salmons, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, p. 16.

2. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

3. Salmons, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

in 1921, and once more his tact and courage triumphed. But, as we have observed in the previous chapter, his success was his undoing.

Succession of Nūr Jaldī's jealousy drove him to insurrection.

When he was called to lead the campaign against Kaadabā, he thought it most prudent to rebel. The circumstances and course of his insurrection have already been described. 'His rebellion,' as Dr. Schurmann has well expressed, 'was a clash of two powerful ambitions each trying to subvert the other.'¹ It was also a great blunder, because by his rashness he played into the hands of his enemies. His grave misconduct, though he tried to 'clothe his inmost acts in the garment of apology' cost him the unique position to which he had climbed up in the Empire. But though baffled, his usual good luck once more came to his rescue. The death of Jalālī at Rasūlī on Sunday, October 29, 1927, was a boon to Shāh Jaldī. Although he was far away in the Desert at that time, he luckily made his way to the Throne.

There was a quick shuffling of the cards at the Imperial head-

quarters. In the words of the *Shihabshāh*

(21) *Asarshah*.

(cf. *Abd al-Hamid Lahud*): 'Nūr Mahal, who

had been the cause of much strife and contention, now clung to the vain aim of retaining the reins of government in her grasp, as she had held them during the reign of the late Emperor. She wrote to *Mahmūd* (*Shahrozi*), advising him to collect as many men as he could, and hasten to her.' On the other hand, Nūr Jaldī's brother *Amīd Kāsh* was equally alert. He 'determined that, as Shāh Jaldī (his son-in-law) was far away from Agra, it was necessary to take some steps to prevent disturbances in the city, and to take possession of the princes (sons of Shāh Jaldī) *Mahmūd Dād Shīkh*, *M. Shāh Shāh*, and *M. Asarshah*, who were in the female apartments with Nūr Mahal. They, therefore, resolved that for some few days they would reside in the throne *Balāh* (*Embar Bāshah*) the son of *Kāsh*, who, by Nūr Mahal's contrivance, had been placed with *Mahmūd*.'

Mahmūd Kāsh narrates the story in more detail: 'Nūr Jaldī began to send orders to bring her brother (*Amīd Kāsh*) to her; but he made excuses, and did not go. *Amīd Kāsh* now sent *Mahmūd*, a swift runner, to Shāh Jaldī, with intelligence of the death of Jalālī;

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

² *Shihabshāh*, E. & O., op. cit. VII, pp. 1-4.

and as there was no time for waiting, he sent his agent away as a guarantee. Next day the royal intendants came down from the mountains to Shichan. There the funeral ceremonies were performed, and the corpse was sent on under escort to Laho, where it was interred in a garden which Shih Jichin had made.

"When the nobles and officers of the State became aware that Ansh Kian had deserted to the strangers of profligate Diwan Bahich, in order to secure the assistance of Shih Jichin, and that Diwan was, in fact, a mere sacrificial lamb, they gave their support to Ansh Kian, and did whatever lay next to the *Khotha* was read in Diwan Bahich's name near Hsinshen."

Shahryar, in the meantime, had arranged the royal table at Laho. "He seized upon the royal treasure and everything belonging to the State which was at Laho. To secure troops and supporters, he gave to everyone what he asked for, and in the space of one week he distributed 70 lots of rupees among the old and new nobles, in the hope of securing his persons." A clash was, therefore, inevitable. The royal forces met them far away from Laho, and "at the first attack Shahryar's warriors, unable to face the old and loyal servants of the State, broke, and fled... unable to understand his position and danger, Shahryar fell back and entered the fortress, thus placing his own foot in the trap. Next day the nobles arrived, . . . Shahryar fled for refuge into the female apartments of the late Emperor. A search brought him out, and he was led bound to the presence of Diwan Bahich. After making the regular bows and prostrations he was placed in confinement, and two or three days afterwards he was blinded." Taimuraz and Hoshang, sons of Prince Dilshad, were also taken and confined. Ansh Kian wrote to Shih Jichin, referring him to the story. . . .

"Shih Jichin sent a Jewels to Yansu-ch'ien Ansh Kian, to the effect that it would be well if Diwan Bahich the son, and *Mahmud* the nephew brother of Kian, and the son of Prince Dilshad, were all sent out of the world." On the 2nd *Jumadi* month, 1077 A.H. . . . by general consent Shih Jichin was proclaimed at Laho and the *Khotha* was read in his name. Diwan Bahich, whom the supporters of Shih Jichin had deemed it advisable to set up in order to prevent disturbance, was now sent into prison. On the 15th *Jumadi* month, Diwan, his brother "Ghariz, Shahryar, and Taimuraz and Hoshang, sons of the deceased Prince Dilshad, were all put to death."

1. *Jahangnamah Jahangir*, E. & D., pp. 101, pp. 425-26. Diwan (Bahich), according to some, seized and lived for some years longer — *Solomon*, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

The northern philosopher underlying these wholesale political murders is very frankly stated by his Shih Kian, the brother of Shih Jichin's reign: "It is entirely lawful," he writes, "for the great sovereign to rid this moral world of the existence of their brothers and other nobles, whose very constitution is conducive to common good. And as the leaders spiritual and temporal, justify the total eradication of the rival elements in the fortunate state (dynasty) on grounds of expediency and common good; and upon the suggestion of such wise counsellors Shih Kian, whom the Emperor Jahangir had, in no lower of consideration,

The Portuguese also entered with hostile in the distant provinces and were richly rewarded. Thus as well as other disturbances and conquests will be noticed in due course.

The account of this rebellion by Abdul Hamid Lahori, in his *Ishtikhār-nāma*, is interesting.

(1). The Baidi People.

'Jaihar Singh was son of Raja Nar Singh Das Baidi, who rose into notice by taking Shalib And Pail. After the accession of Jahangir to the throne, Nar Singh Das rose into favour and distinction through this united deed. But his end came was unable to bear his prosperity, and towards the end of the reign of Jahangir he became discontented and opposed all the authorities in his neighbourhood. His first object was to murder his father Jahangir and was succeeded by his son Jaihar Singh. The murder and property which Nar Singh had acquired without favour and without trouble involved the mind of his minister successor Jaihar, and at the accession of Shah Jahan, he left the capital Agra, and proceeded to Uchch (Uchch), his stronghold, where he set about raising soldiers, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the trade.

'A force was accordingly sent against him under the command of Mirza Khan, Khan-Khanan. [The Imperial forces converged upon Uchch and] Jaihar Singh, having no hope of escape, waited upon Khan Khanan and made his submission.

'His Majesty in the second year of his reign pardoned the misdeeds of this turbulent man, and sent him on service to the Dekkan. After a while he took leave of Mirza Khan Khan-Khanan, the ruler of the Dekkan, and retired to his own country, leaving behind him his son Shamsa, a wicked Jaq-si, and his protégé of men.

'On reaching home he attacked Mirza Khan, governor of Gwalior, and induced him by a treaty and promises to surrender the fort of Chandigarh (30 miles west of Jalandhar—*see* *ibid.*, I, p. 347). Afterwards, in violation of his engagement, he got Mirza Khan and a number of his followers to drink, and took possession of the fort, with all the money and valuables it contained.

'Mirza Khan's son accompanied Khan Jahan to Court from Mirza, taking with him an offering, and he made known to the Emperor what had happened. A *farman* was then sent to Jaihar Singh, charging him with having killed Mirza Khan, and taking possession of Gwalior, without the authority of the Emperor, and directing him to surrender the territory to the officers of the Crown, or else give up the rights he held in his own country, and to send to Court two *lacs* of *Rupai* to cash out of the money which had belonged to Mirza Khan.

1. The defeat of the Imperial army induced Jaihar to ally himself with Mirza Khan, another ruler from Kashmir under Feroz Shah, and a third proceeded from the north under Kama Khan. The total strength of these forces was 37,000 horse, 8,000 foot, 1,500 musketeers.

'He got notice of this female from his wife before it arrived, and being resolved to meet, he directed his son Shikari to escape with his treasure from the slaughter, whether he had gone with Khan Jahan, and to make the best of his way home. The son acted accordingly.'

The military operations need not be followed in detail. Prince Aurangzeb was in nominal command of 20,000 troops directed to reduce the rebels. Raja Durr Singh, one of the rulers of Jajhar, was with the Imperial army.

'Negotiating the density and strength of his forts Jajhar was alarmed at the advance of the Imperial forces, and removed his family, his cattle and money, from Udaipur to the fort of Dhanum, which his father had built. On the east, north and south of this fort there are deep ravines, which prevent the digging of moats or the running of ditches. On the west side a deep ditch had been dug twenty Imperial yards wide, stretching from ravine to ravine....' When the army in pursuit approached Dhanum, Jajhar fled to Chantapur. 'Before leaving he blew up the buildings round the fort of Dhanum, and left one of his officers and a body of faithful adherents to garrison the fort.' He fled the same at Chantapur, 'and then went off with his family and such goods as he would carry to the Dulhan. . . . When pressed hard by the pursuers, Jajhar and Shikari got to drink several women whose houses were worn out, and then turned upon their pursuers. . . . Although they fought desperately, they were beaten and fled into the woods. . . . The hot pursuit allowed the rebels no time to perform the rite of *Jaikar*, which is one of the hallowed practices of Hindustan. In their despair they inflicted two wounds with a dagger on Raja Purian, the chief wife of Raja Nur Singh Deo, and having stabbed the other women and children with swords and daggers, they were about to make off, when the pursuers came up and put many of them to the sword. . . . Dargabehn, son of Jajhar, and Durjan Bih, son of Shikari, were made prisoner'. . . . The royal army then encamped on the edge of the tank. . . . While they rested there information was brought that Jajhar and Shikari, . . . after escaping from the bloody conflict, had fled to hide themselves in the hills, where they were killed with great cruelty by the Gonds who

1. Later, the same chronicler (Lahori) states, 'By the Emperor's order they were made *Mushkanas* by the names of Jahan Kuli and Ali Kuli, and they were both placed in the charge of Piro Khan Mian (Mian Miran, being severely wounded, was passed over); the other women were sent to attend upon the ladies of the Imperial palace. . . .

Udaipur, the son of Jajhar, and his younger brother, Syam Deo, who had fled to Golkonda, were made prisoner by Kori-ul-Mulk and were sent in custody to the Emperor. . . . They arrived on the 7th Shawwal. The young boy was ordered to be made a *Mushkan*, and to be placed in the charge of Piro Khan Mian, along with the son of Shikari. Udaipur, and Syam Deo, who were of full age, were offered the alternative of *litham* or death. They chose the latter, and were sent to jail.'

robbed that country..... Khatu Khawas rode forth to seek their leader, and having found them, cut off their heads and sent them to Court... When they arrived, the Emperor ordered them to be hung up over the gate of Salwa.

On arriving at Ghanda, the Imperial commissioner ordered to take tribute from Khatu, chief commander of Sindwana, ...and he consented to pay five lakhs of rupees as tribute to the government, and one lak of rupees in cattle and goods to the Imperial commanders....On the 13th January 1560 the Emperor proceeded on his journey to Udaipur, and on the 21st intelligence arrived of the capture of the fort of Jaisal, one of the strongest in the Bundela country.¹

But the amiable Bundelas were not subdued. Another leader arose in Champat Rai of Mahoba. In 1559 his depredations and incursions into Mughal territory made the road to the Deccan very insecure. Akbar's Khila was directed by Shikha Jodha to round up the rebels. But Champat Rai played the Robin Hood. He had the fullest support of his people. In 1561, through the agency of Pabai Singh a son of Bir Singh Dev, he was temporarily brought under the Imperial yoke. But he more famous son, Salu Chhatrasai, again challenged the Imperial authority under Akbar's rule.

Another exactly similar rebellion took place in Min Narpat in 1559. His ancestor, Jagat Singh, was a loyal servant of the Empire, but his son Ekprap proved recalcitrant. Jagat Singh's secret sympathy with his rebellious son involved him in a war with the Imperial authorities. However, unlike the Bundela revolt, this insurrection ended in reconciliation. After nearly three years' hostilities, Jagat Singh submitted in March 1562, and ended his life as a loyal servant of the Crown.

Dr. Salomon, after pointing out the close parallelism between the two rebellions, observes: "The only difference is that in one case the crime line of the rebels was extirpated, in the other they were cherished and pardoned. The reason for this is not far to seek. In the case of the Bundelas, their wealth excited the cupidity of the Mughal Emperor, and this it was impossible to obtain without antagonising their enemies; while in the case of Jagat Singh there was no such temptation, and once the latter agreed to the demolition of his forts, Shikha Jodha did not consider it necessary to go any further, since the rebels had become harmless."²

1. *Atishayikata*, E. & D. op. cit., Vol. pp. 4-7, 47-50.

2. *Salomon*, op. cit., p. 105.

Khán Jahán Lodi was a son of Sháh Jahán Lodi, son of Akbar's officers. He held the rank of 5,000

(2) *Khán Jahán's Rebellion.* and was nominally governor of Gujarat and the Deccan in the reign of Jahángir. But like many another Afghan under Mughal dominion, he still cherished dreams of independence. Unfortunately he was also guilty of peculation. Never heartily loyal to the Mughal Emperor, he had surrendered Bálghar to the 'Núshahá' for a paltry 300,000 rupees.¹ After the sudden death of Jahángir, and the temporary anarchy of succession, he eagerly imagined a great opportunity to assert himself in the South. Sháh Jahán, when he ascended the throne, sent for him, and for a time seemed to have won him over. But the sudden rebuff proved mortifying. He was jealous of Músháh Khán, whose pretensions as Khán-Kháwán he looked upon as a supersession of his own claims. He was also disappointed at what he considered to be a cold reception at Court. He soon began to suspect even his personal safety and feared he might well be called upon to answer for his peculation. Under these circumstances, he determined to seek refuge in flight. He effected this on the night of October 8, 1626. The following is Laker's account of his insurrection:—

'After the death of Jahángir, and before the accession of Sháh Jahán, Khán Jahán Lodi went upon a dangerous and disloyal course. . . . He formed an alliance with Músháh-i Malik, and gave up to him the Bálghar in the Deccan, the revenue of which amounted to 85 acres of silver. But Sháhíá Khán who held Ahmednagar, bravely and loyally refused to surrender that city.'

Then Khán Jahán 'marched with a large force to Málwa, with the intention of taking possession of Jálwa', but the news of Sháh Jahán's accession 'brought him to a sense of his folly and misadventure. . . . Rájá Guj Singh, Rájá Jas Singh, and other distinguished Rájás who had accompanied him to Málwa, parted from him when they heard of Sháh Jahán having ascended at Agra. Thereupon Khán Jahán wrote a letter of contrition and submission, in the hope of obtaining forgiveness.'

'A royal summons was sent to him, informing him that he was assigned to the governorship of the Deccan, and directing him to return at once to Burhánpur. He then retired from Málwa to Burhánpur, and engaged in the duties of his office. But when it was reported that the country of Bálghar, which Khán Jahán had given to Músháh-i Malik still

remained in his possession, and had not been recovered, the Emperor appointed Mubarak Khan to the governorship of the Dakhn. Mubarak Khan then returned to Court. There, in spite of remonstrances from the Emperor, he remained selfish and moody. Later, says, "Rustum was acquainted with him, and in his perverse temper prevented him from accepting the Emperor's invitation." Hence his flight above related to.

As soon as the Emperor was informed of it, he sent Khwaja Abdul Husein . . . in pursuit of the fugitive. Unmindful of the weakness of their own force and the numbers of the Akbars, they followed them and overtook them in the vicinity of Dihagun. Yet after a brave fight the rebel escaped. When the leader entered the territory of Jafar Singh Bhondla, that chieftain was absent in the Dakhn, but his eldest son, Bihram, was at home, and sent the rebel out of the territory by unrequited roads. If Bihram had not thus lowered his wings, he would have been either taken prisoner or killed. He proceeded to Gondwana, and after staying there some time in disappointment and obscurity, he proceeded by way of Buzar to the country of Barmuk Khilaji Malik.

The rest of the fight, flight and pursuit, need not be detailed, with the exception of one incident, viz., the part played by Shikhi Bhondla, Bhondla's father.

"At that time Shikhi Bhondla, uncle of Jafar Khilaji, a Hindu commander of Sultan Shik's army, came in and joined Asam Khilaji (the bloodthirsty commander). After the murder of Jafar Khilaji, . . . Shikhi broke off his connection with Sultan Khilaji, and, retiring to the districts of Pith and Chikim, he wrote to Asam Khilaji, proposing to make his submission upon receiving a promise of protection. Asam Khilaji wrote to Court, and received orders to accept the proposal. Shikhi then came and joined him with two thousand horse. He received a khilat, a mansab of 5000 and a gift of two huns of robes and other presents. His brother Malik retained a role and a mansab of 3000 personal and 1500 horse. Several of their relations and dependants also obtained gifts and mansab of distinction."

Finally, "Khan Jahan was much afflicted at the loss of his sons and followers (who were either killed or taken prisoners by the Imperial forces). All hope of escape was cut off; as he told his followers that he was weary of life, that he had reached the end of his career, and there was no longer any means of deliverance for him, he desired, therefore that even, even should make off as best he could. At last determined to stand by him to the last, but many fled . . . In the midst of the struggle Mubarak Singh passed him with a spear, and before Mubarak Khan could stand up, the horse fell over him. Khan Jahan and his dear son fell to pieces. About a hundred of his adherents fell, and their heads were cut off . . . The heads of Khan Jahan and Asam . . . were sent to the Imperial Court . . . [His other sons were imprisoned]. The heads of the rebels were placed over the gate of the fort. After their victory, Abdulla Khan and Bairat Mubarak Khan came to Court, and received many marks of favour. The former was advanced to a mansab

of 5,000 and 4,000 horses, and he received the title of *Feroz Jung*. Nizam Muzaffar Khan was presented to a sum of 2,000 and 4,000 horses. He received the title *Khan Jahan*.¹

The Portuguese were long settled in the eastern parts of Bengal, but they were never attached to by the Muslim Emperor so long as their activities were harmless. On the con-

(C) *Suppression of Portuguese Power.*

tary, they obtained a monopoly of salt from Government, and paid 10,000 taels into the Imperial treasury every year.² But their commercial adventures soon landed them in trouble. They were not content with mere trade; their missionary zeal to convert the natives evoked much hostility. Matters were made worse by their practical persecutions also. Often they persecuted forty or fifty leagues up-country, from the river mouths, 'carried away the entire population of villages on market days, and at times when the inhabitants were assembled for celebration of marriage or some other festival'. They would even 'offer for sale the aged people in their very places of residence, and it was a pathetic sight to see young men returning their parents.'³

Under such persecution Shah Jahan initiated a ruthless campaign against those foreigners (1632). Various motives are ascribed for the attack on the Portuguese, but that it was neither sustained nor universal, makes it clear beyond doubt that it was purely due to local instigation. Sir Edward Maclagan is perfectly right when he remarks: "The trouble at Hugel was not due primarily to a religious quarrel. The local Government had put no obstacles in the way of propagandists and had paid due respect to the Catholic priesthood... The Viceroy had protected them from the attacks of Mughals and Pers. The troublemaker undertaken by the Mughals against the Portuguese in Hugel originated in political causes, namely the sympathy and encouragement which the Portuguese of Hugel had given to competitors, the Feroze of Chittagong who were little more than pirates, ready to lend their services to the king of Arakan against the Mughals. A religious element was indeed imported into the quarrel by Shah Jahan, probably for reasons of policy... The

1. *Shahjahan-nama*, K. & D., pp. 48, VII, pp. 2-3.

2. *Memoirs written about Hugel*. Here I found the chief instigators of Hugel, all of whom were Portuguese, but in those days they alone were allowed to deal in salt throughout the province of Bengal. (*A Pictorial History of Bengal*, p. 118).

3. *Barrow's Travels*, pp. 174-75.

Foreign made slaves of large numbers of Negro slaves, and of these slaves they made Christians—"Boasting," says Bennett, "they made more Christians in a twelve month than all the missionaries in the Indies do in ten years." The religious aspect, however, of the relations between the Negroes and the Portuguese was of subsidiary importance, and there was much apart from religion to justify the punishment of Hugh.¹

The details of the fight are of little consequence. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely, even desperately, but it was of little avail against the concentrated might of the Empire. The following description taken from the *Stichtings-heroeen* of Lubbock gives a vivid idea of the final struggle:—

"On the last 24th April 1700, the attack was made on the Fringe by the battalions on the river, and by the boats on land. . . . Having killed or captured all the soldiers, the warriors carried off the families of their boatmen, who were all Sangalis. Four thousand boatmen, whom the Sangalis killed first, then left the Fringe and joined the victorious army. This was a great discouragement to the Christians.

The royal army was engaged for three months and a half in the siege of this strong place (Hugli). Sometimes the Indians fought, sometimes they made overtures of peace, pretending the time in hopes of success from their countrymen. With true treachery they pretended to make proposals of peace, and sent nearly a lot of presents as tribute, while at the same time they ordered 7,000 musketeers who were in their service to open fire. So heavy was it that many of the trees of a grove in which a large force of the Europeans was placed were stopped of their branches and leaves."

Finally, however, they were all defeated. "Whoever escaped from the water and fire became a prisoner. From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water, or burnt by fire. Nearly 1,000 brave warriors of the Imperial army obtained the glory of martyrdom. 4,400 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoners, and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty."

The figures may not be very accurate. "On the 11th March 1705 [1045 A. H.], the writer concludes, "Kadim Eldin and Bahadur Kadim brought . . . 400 Christian prisoners, male and female, young and old, with the idols of their worship, to the precincts of

1. *Stichtings-heroeen*, op. cit., pp. 180-1.

the last-defending Emperor. He ordered that the principles of the Muhammadan religion should be explained to them, and that they should be called upon to adopt it. . . . Those who refused were to be kept in national confinement. So it came to pass that many of them passed their lives in jail. Such of their wives as were Mohammedans of the straight were thrown into the Jannat, the rest were locked up in jails.¹

Before proceeding to the major political events of the reign a passing reference might be made to some of the minor conquests of Shah Jahan. Most of these relate to the subjugation of rebellious chieftains or petty rulers and feudatories, like Bhagurath Shah (1632) and Miran Qand (1644) in India, and Raja Pratap of Palawan (1642) in Chittagong, and the subduing of border tribes on the frontiers. But the most notable were perhaps the cases of Little Tibet and Annam. In 1634 the ruler of the former country had been persuaded to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor and to read the *Khutba* in Shah Jahan's name. Failure to maintain this attitude of loyalty resulted in a big expedition, consisting of 2,500 horse and 18,000 infantry, being led into Little Tibet under Jahan Shah, in 1637-38. The prestige of the Empire was again restored, the *Khutba* was again read in Shah Jahan's name, and an indemnity of one million rupees was also paid into the Imperial treasury by the Tibetan ruler Abdo.

The conquest of Bengal had brought the Mughals into close contact with the Mongoloid states in the north-east of India. Akbar, on the whole, had cultivated friendly relations with the rulers of Kach-Bihar and Kachip, but during Jahangir's reign Mughal policy in this direction "unperceptibly took an aggressive turn."² This was largely due to the internal weakness of the states themselves, so

1 E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 32-3 (ch.). Bernier gives a more glowing picture of the persecution: 'The misery of these people, he writes, 'is unparalleled in the history of modern times; it nearly recalled the gloomy captivity of Babylon, for even the children, women, and monks shared the universal doom. The handsomest women, as well as married as single, became inmates of the waggons; those of a more advanced age or of inferior beauty were distributed among the Oraks; little children underwent the fate of dissection and were made pages; and the sons of adult age, seized for the most part by fair promises or terrified by the daily threat of throwing them under the feet of elephants, frequented the Christian hospitals.'—(Ferdin., p. 172).

2 Guizot, *History of Mughal or E. Indian Policy*, pp. 225-29.

less than to the ambition of the Moghul officer, Islam Khan. Within a short time both Kach-Bihar and Kismirg were annexed to the Empire. The next step of Moghul Imperialism was naturally an Asian. This was reserved for successful execution in the reign of Shah Jahan. From 1628-29 there was open war between the Empire and Auran. It resulted in the definite fixing of boundaries and resumption of peaceful trade relations, not unaided with diplomacy, during the rest of the reign (1639-37).¹ The outbreak of the Imperial war asserted everything for the moment.

III. BADAKHSHAN AND KANDIHAR

The unbridled ambition of Shihir to conquer and rule over his ancestral dominions in Samarkand and Bokhara, seemed to be still active, through some principle of heredity, in the reign of Shah Jahan. The stars of the Empire were clearly on the ascendant, and Shah Jahan, who had even as a Prince made his mark as a conqueror, now cast wistful eyes beyond the Hindukush towards Transoxiana, Balch, and Badakhshan. He turned the potent arm of the Empire for the reconquest of these distant regions as well as of Kandihar which had been lost near 1622. The result in both cases, unfortunately, was disastrous.

A quarrel between Naur Muhammad Khan, ruler of Bokhara, and his son Akbar-i Aala, gave Shah Jahan the tempting opportunity for interference.² In June 1646, he sent an army of 50,000 horse and 10,000 foot, under the command of Prince Murad and Ali Murad Khan, son Balch. They entered the city in July, and were rewarded by the capture

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 288-91.

2. "Ever since the beginning of his reign," writes Akbari Husuli Lahori, "the Emperor's heart had been set upon the conquest of Balch and Badakhshan, which were hereditary territories of his house, and were the keys to the acquisition of Samarkand the home and capital of his great ancestor Timur Sahib-Khan. He was more especially moved on this because Naur Muhammad Khan had the presumption to attack Kabul (1638) from whence he had been driven back as fugitive. The prosecution of the Emperor's cherished enterprise had been hitherto prevented by various obstacles . . . but now the feasibility of the authority of Naur Muhammad was shaken, and his authority in Balch was precarious . . . So the Emperor determined to send his son Murad Balch with fifty thousand horse, and ten thousand musketeers, pikemen and sappers, to effect the conquest of that country . . . On the last day of Zil Hija, 1055 H., the Emperor gave his farewell to Prince Murad Balch, to Amir-i Husuli (Ali Husuli Khan), and the other officers sent on this service.—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 79.

of treasure worth 13 tons of silver, 2,500 horses and 500 camels. Near Mithamard ran away to Panna, whence he returned triumphant not very long after. It is extremely interesting to note the Imperial anxiety about this interference in a foreign dominion. Says the *Shih Tsu-chien* : 'As it happened, from the contraction of his invasion of Balh, this very desert had been barred in the depths of his comprehensive mind, viz., that after clearing the kingdoms of Balh and Balhishan from the heavy yoke of barbarism and anarchy, he should restore them in safety to Nien M'ch'uei K'ien. The latter, however, scorning the dictates of prudence, hastened to Iran, etc.' In spite of the victory of the Imperial arms, Prince Murid had no desire to remain long in these troubled regions, and avowed on the contrary a keen desire to get back to India. 'Many of the amirs and nobles who were with the Prince concurred in this unreasonable desire. Natural love of home, a preference for the ways and customs of Hindustan, a dislike of the people and the manners of Balh, and the rigour of the climate, all conducted to this desire. This resolution became a cause of discord among the vassals, of dependency among the soldiers, and of hesitation among the men who were coming into Balh from all quarters. The soldiers, seeing this vacillation, began to plunder and oppress the people. So, when the Prince's desire was repeatedly expressed, the Emperor's anger was increased. He deprived the Prince of his manse, and took from him his loyal of M'ltan.

'Under these circumstances, to settle the confusion in Balh, the Emperor found it necessary to send there a trustworthy and able manager. So he selected Szu-hsü K'ien, his prime-minister . . . Szu-hsü K'ien returned in the 5th Month, 1064-5, having settled the affairs of Balh, and restored order and tranquillity among the soldiers and people, and secured the country from anarchy. He had most effectively carried out the orders of the Emperor, and was rewarded with a title and a increased income to his manse.

'On the 25th 25th April, 1065, the Emperor bestowed the counties of Balh and Balhishan on An-sung-shi, and increased his manse to 15,000 personal and 10,000 horse . . . He was directed to proceed to Peshawar, and on the arrival of Spring to march to Balh in company with An-sü of Umm al Maw'at K'ien, and a body of Karguts, who had left Balh and Balhishan in August, and had come to Peshawar, where they were stopped by an Imperial order directing the officers at Balh not to allow them to cross the border.'¹

1. 1064, p. 76.
2. 1065, pp. 71-2.

But, even Aurangzeb, in spite of his great personal courage, which impressed the Badshahs very much,¹ could not hold the province for long. After the first capture of Balikh and the flight of Nurr Muhammad to Persia, Shih Jukin had written to the latter in the following diplomatic strain: "When the Prince (Shah) engaged opponents to Balikh, on account of his youth and inexperience, and the laziness and negligence of the soldiers accompanying him, some undesirable actions were performed, e.g. the entering of Kanton Khelo into the fort, when you (Nurr Muhammad) were in person there. These must have been a source of pain and alarm to you, and I am very sorry to hear of it.... But I expected that you would repair to us and not go elsewhere.... But fate is stronger than will.... I wished to clear Balikh of troublesome elements, and to send it over to you... and to place at your disposal an army to help you, when you so desired, to recover *Frangistan*." Now, on account of the sheer impossibility of maintaining the Maghal position there, the retreat became inevitable. "The country was desolated, water dried at hand, grass scarce, and time short," Aurangzeb told his men, "so that there would be great difficulty in making arrangements for the winter and returning to the kingdom during that inclement season....."

The Prince then marched with all his forces from the neighbourhood of Balikh, where, having ceded the country to Nurr Muhammad Khan, he delivered up the town and district of Balikh to Muhammad Khan and Balih Kalash. He presented the former of them, on leaving him farewell, with a jewelled dagger, a horse caparisoned with golden trappings and 50,000 rupees out of the royal treasury. He also committed to his charge, among the stores contained in the fort and city, 50,000 muns of grain belonging to His Majesty, which, estimated by the rate ruling at that time, was worth five lacs of rupees and besides this, all the provisions of the other type. From the beginning of the loss of Balikh and Badshahpur (1645) till the end (Oct. 1647), when these conquered territories were ceded to Nurr Muhammad Khan, there was expended out of the State Exchequer, in the progress of this under-

1. "The great tenacity of Prince Aurangzeb though broke into the heart of the country: . . . one day, the hour of evening prayer arrived when the battle was at its height; Aurangzeb opened his carpet on the field, knelt down and recited with his prayers, regardless of the war and the sword then. He was thus, as during the rest of the campaign, with out armour and shield. The Muslims many good on the news with wonder, and Akbar Khan, in generous admiration, stopped the fight, crying: To fight with such a man is to court one's own destruction. —Selous, *op. cit.* 2. 288.
2. *Cand. Ind.*, p. 327.

taking the sum of two horns of oxen, which is equivalent to seven *das* of the lowest current in India.

The march back from Balikh to Kabul (Oct. 1867) was nearly as disastrous as the British withdrawal from Kabul in 1842. According to Ismail Khan, "from the first commencement of the army's crossing to the end, about 5,000 men, a similar number of animals such as horses, elephants, mules, camels, etc., were destroyed and a vast deal of property remained buried in the snow."

Kandahar, on account of its strategic and commercial importance, had ever been the bone of contention between the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of Hindustan. Conquered by Timur in 1322, it had been lost for a time and recovered by Humayun in 1545. Lost again during Akbar's minority, it was re-acquired in 1595. Jahangir once more lost it in 1622, but Shah Jahan regained it in 1638. Ten years later, in 1648, the Persians recaptured Kandahar for the last time, and despite persistent efforts (1648-49 and 1652-53) the Mughals could never wrest it from their hands again. Diplomatic overtures and very costly gifts were exchanged during the intervals, between the Shah and the Emperor, but they were all directed to the study of each other's political advantages and weaknesses with the ultimate object of outwitting the rival. Finally, Persia won this race for Kandahar against the Emperor of Hindustan.

In 1658, Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, fearing that he might be called upon by the Shah to account

1. Shah Jahan-nama E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 75-3.

2. Shah Jahan-nama E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 83. "The First Afghan War, under Lord Auckland closed with a series of disasters greater than those of Aurangzeb at Balikh. Results broke out in all directions. The reverse of the Intergang was delivered by the Afghans, and properly only in a responsive position beheld with consanguine fury." In November 1841 the necessity of retreat to Jalalabad was recognised. A treaty was signed on 3rd Jan. 1842: "the guns, muskets and ammunicions stores having been previously gone up, leave fell, . . . on January 6, the depleted army, with numbering about 4,000 troops and 12,000 followers accompanied by a train of camels or mules leaving the women and children, started for Jalalabad. On the 9th, only about 500 men of all arms emerged from the Ghuzni Kabul defiles . . . on the 11th only 300 were left. On the 13th, Dr. Doxson, nearly expended, and barely able run exhaustion to sit upon the exhausted beast that bore him, reached Jalalabad, and told that Dufour's army, guns, standards, honour, it being lost, was dead completely annihilated." Such was the consummation of a line of policy which from first to last laid truth in defiance, and right under foot, and ending in a comical scene was equalled in a 100, unparagonably to mislead the public mind" (Smith, *ib.*, pp. 393-400).

for the large sums he had disbursed from the revenues of his province, invited the Mughals to capture it. 'On the approach of the Imperial forces,' says Lalori, 'Ah Mardān Khān conducted them into the fortress, and gave it up to them. . . . The Governor of Kabul was directed to proceed to Kandahar, and present a list of reports to Ah Mardān Khān. He was then to take the Khān to Kabul, and to send him under escort to the Imperial Court, with all his family and dependents. All the country to Kandahar with its borders was annexed to the Imperial dominions.' But this was only a short-lived triumph.

When the ambitious Shāh Shāhī II came to the throne, in 1601,

Loss of Kandahar.

Parsiā vowed determined to reconquer Kandahar. Owing to the minority of the Shāh, however, the actual attack was not made until 1603.

Then, 'a reached the ear of royalty (Shāh Jahān), through the representations of Daulat Khān, ruler of Kandahar, and Parsīd Khān, Governor of Herat, that Shāh Shāhī II, having come to the sacred city of Tān (Mashhad-i-Mulammad) with intent to reconquer the kingdom of Kandahar, had proceeded towards the confines of Khurasān, with all his matchless men and ponies. It was, besides, reported that he had despatched men to Farah, Serān, and other places, to collect supplies of grain, and having sent on a party in advance to Herat, was doing his utmost to block up the road on this side, being well aware that, during the winter, owing to the quantity of snow on the ground, the arrival of reinforcements from Hindustan by way of Kabul and Mīān was impossible. He proposed advancing in this direction during that inclement season, and had despatched Shāh Kuli Beg, son of Mahūd Beg, his uncle, as expeditiously as possible with a letter to Court, and further that individual in question had reached Kandahar, and, without halting more than three days, had resumed his journey to the august presence

'His Majesty, after hearing this intelligence, having summoned Afīz, Badakhsh Khān from the metropolis, commanded him to write friendly to all the rājās and mansabdar who were at their request

1. *Shāhshāh-nāma*, E. & D., off. ed., VII, p. 64. Ah Mardān Khān later on was twice named in the Badakhshan campaign. He was promoted up to a rank of 7,000 *ash* and *asaf*, and made successively Governor of the Punjab and Kashmir. The *Shāh* *Camel*, 40 *Krosh* in length, sent Lalori, was built during his governorship.

live cattle, pigs, and horses, directing them to set out with all speed for Coen. It was likewise ordered that the mercenaries should determine the proper moment for the departure of the world travelling camp from the metropolis to the capital Lahore and Kabul.

As soon as it reached the good sea, ... that ... the Shah had arrived outside the fortress of Kandahar, and hastened it, the ever successful Prince Mahmood Arangzeb Bahadur was appointed to joined doctor with Allier Nakhla Khan, and some of the chief officers of State, such as Bahadur Khan, Miral Khan, Jai Singh, Karam Khan, Hala Nakhla, and Kutch Khan. Besides these, there were upwards of fifty, perhaps less amongst the nobles, and a vast number of *sevadars*, *shahs* and soldiers, and *matchlocks*—the whole number of whom, under the rigorous training those to being one-fifth of their respective rates of fighting men into the field, would amount to 35,000 horsemen and according to the rule allowing a fourth, to 60,000—as well as 15,000 infantry, *matchlock* and rocket men, etc. It was ordered that subsidiary parts of the money out of the State *Kashpur* should be made to the nobles and *sevadars* holding *ajirs*, who were appointed to serve in this expedition, at the rate of 150 rupees for every individual *harman*, which would be a far for every hundred (*chusman*?); that to those who drew pecuniary stipends in place of holding *ajirs*, three months' pay in advance should be disbursed, and in this manner also to the *shahs* and *matchlocks*, who numbered 5,000 horse, should a similar advance be made: so that they might not suffer any privations during the campaign from want of funds to meet their current expenses. ... It was further commanded that the ever-victorious army should hasten to Kabul via *Bangash-e Gila* and *Bangash-e payia*, as they were the shortest routes, and thence proceed by way of Ghazni towards Kandahar.

In spite of all these elaborate preparations, however, Kandahar could not be shaken from the doughty Persians.

'Some of the *Mughal* *sevadars*, *shahs*, and *matchlocks* too, having sprinkled the dust of treason on the heads of loyalty, joined into a league with them, and having come in front of the fort, declared that, in consequence of all the roads being closed, from the vast quantity of snow on the ground, there was no hope of the early arrival of succour, and that it was evident from the unfolding efforts of the *Kandahar*, that they would very shortly capture the fort, and after its reduction by fire and violence, neither would there be any chance of their own lives being spared, nor of their offspring being saved from captivity. The wretched *Shah* Khan, who ought instantly to have relinquished the fumes of this sedition with the water of the sword, showed an utter want of spirit, by contenting himself, with offering advice to reply: ...

'After the fortress of Kandahar had been besieged for three months and a half, so that grain and fodder were beginning to be scarce, notwithstanding the preliminary exertions of the faithful

armada of the Queen, owing to their having with them neither a single train of battering guns, nor skilled artillerymen, the capture of the fortress seemed as distant as ever. For these reasons and as the water also was close at hand, a junction was made to the *Shirvan* Prince (*Aurangzeb*), to the effect, that, as the reduction of the fortress without the aid of heavy guns was impracticable, and there was not now sufficient time remaining for them to arrive in, he should defer his capture till a more convenient opportunity, and start for Hindostan with the "mainmost" troops. . . . the Prince did not deem it expedient to delay any longer, but in obedience to the mandate worthy of all attention, set out with the "victorious" hosts from Kandahar on the 5th of the month of *Ramadee* this year for Hindostan.¹ (Sept. 3, 1688)

In May 1688, another effort was made to recover Kandahar, but with no better result. 'His Majesty de-

Sacred Ship of
Kandahar

patched Affem with the *malakshahs* forces (assembling the waves of the sea), amounting

together with the army serving in Kabul to 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including musketeers, gunners, bombardiers, and rocketmen, for the purpose of conquering the country and fortress of Kandahar, *Bast* and *Zamin-damar*. He was further accompanied by ten large and braconic war-elephants, eight heavy and twenty light guns, the latter of which carried two and two and a half or (four and five lbs.) shot, and during an engagement, used to be advanced in front of the army; twenty elephants carrying *keftaks*, and 100 camels with *shahmads*, besides a well-regimented company, and other suitable equipments. He was retraced to repair by way of Kabul and *Chishti* to Kandahar, and about 3,000 camels were employed in the transport of artillery stores, such as lead, powder and iron shot. . . .

"As it had been determined that the siege of the fortress should be commenced simultaneously with the arrival (of *Aurangzeb*) at Kandahar, the fortunate Prince, having finished marking out the positions that the royal forces were to occupy, invented the storm hold that very day. . . . For two months and eight days the flames of war burned fiercely, and on both sides numerous casualties occurred. . . . To be brief, the captives used the most strenuous exertions, and laboured with unceasing zeal and assiduity in

1. *Shah Jahan nama*, E. & D., pp. 461, VII, pp. 34-35.

moving forward the parallels and signs of attack, and demolishing the crest of the parapet and the bastions. Nevertheless, as the fortress presented immense strength and was filled with all the military weapons and stores required for an effective defence, their utmost efforts produced no impression, and, owing to the storm of shot and shell that poured on them like a shower of rain from the fort, they were unable to advance their trenches beyond the spot they had already brought them to. (The artillery proved ineffective.)

'As soon as these particulars became known to His Majesty's world-admiring understanding, and he was informed that the capture of the fortress was at that period impracticable; and it also reached the royal ear that the Uzbeks and Araxes had come into the neighbourhood of Ghazni, and carried thence, a parcel was sent to the Huzistan Prince (Aurangzeb) on the 4th of Shaban, to withdraw his forces from around the fortress, and deferring his capture till some other period, to take his high train along with him and set out for Coast' (July 2, 1822)

Despite the failure of the first two attempts, Shah Jahan resolved to make yet another effort in 1822. But

Third Siege of Kandahar. This time the command was entrusted to Prince Khudat

Dik around of Aurangzeb. To follow Inayat Khat's narrative. 'As the Prince Buland Iqbal (Dilaf Shah), after the return of the army from Kandahar, had quarrelled to conceive that territory, and with this view the provisions of Kabul and Multan had been bestowed upon him, His Royal Highness, on receiving the report, applied himself to the task of making the requisite arrangements for the campaign. In the course of these months and some days that he remained at Lahore, he made such profuse exertions, that what could not have been otherwise accomplished in a year was effected in this short period.

'Among the siege train was a gun called *Kilbasar Iskar* (stone-iron casting), and another *Gark-Husam* (Gork-shooting), each of which carried an iron shot one man and eight six in weight (36 lbs.), and they were worked by the gunners under the direction of Miran Khat. There was also another large piece of ordnance that carried a shot of a man and sixteen six (11 cwt.), and was placed under the management of His Royal Highness's *khidmatdar*, as well as 20,000 cannon-balls, small and great. He also got ready 5,000 mounds of gun-powder, and 2,500 of lead, measuring by Imperial weight, and 14,000 muskets,

Many reports collected in many provinces as were possible, to make arrangements for the army contingent and the safe arrival of supplies. He then despatched a letter to Court, representing that as the season of starting was fixed for the 22d Rabiu'l awwal, and the preliminary arrangements for the campaign had been completed, if the royal horses required to this enterprise received their destined, he would set out for Kandahar. A mistake in the suspicious handwriting was, however, found, directing His Royal Highness to start off at the predetermined moment by way of Mahan, on which road provisions and forage were abundant.¹

Dilak left Lahore on February 11, 1853, and arrived at Kandahar on April 25, 1853. But a siege of over five months showed that, in spite of Dilak's pompous equipment, Kandahar could not be conquered. A few minor successes were, no doubt, achieved, but the main objective remained unfulfilled. Again the old story repeated itself: "The winter began to set in, all the food, powder, and cannon-balls were expended, and neither was there any forage left in the meadows, nor provisions with the army. A furia! Shikwa was issued to this effect, that, as the winter was close at hand, and they had already been long detained in Kandahar, if the reduction of the fortress could not be effected just at once, they might stay if necessary some short time longer; or otherwise return immediately. — Not one of the royalist commanders proposed staying any longer. The Prince Bahadur Iqbal consequently, on 15th Shal-h'ra this year, set out from Kandahar for Hindustan." (September 27, 1853).

Despite his colossal failure, Prince Dilak was magnificently rewarded. "On the 6th of Rabi'u'l awwal this year (1268-4), being the anniversary of the thirty-fifth lunar year of His Majesty's age, a festival was celebrated with exceeding splendour, and was attended with the usual ceremonies. In this sublime assembly the Emperor kindly conferred on the Prince Bahadur Iqbal a handsome shikar with a gold-embroidered vest, studded with valuable diamonds round the collar, on both sleeves, and the skirt, pearls had been sewn, and it was worth 50,000; and also a turban composed of a single cube of the finest water, and two magnificent pearls, of the value of a lac and 70,000 rupees, and a division of thirty two bowmen. He also distinguished His Royal Highness by the lofty title of Shah Bahadur Iqbal, which had been applied exclusively to him—

1. *Shah Jahan-nama*, II. & D. op. cit., VII, pp. 381-2.

self during his Majesty's reign; and even in the days of his Prerogative a chair had been placed at the Emperor's suggestion opposite to the throne for him to sit on, he now in like manner directed his Royal Highness to seat himself on a golden chair that had been placed near the sublime throne.¹

"Treacherously estimated," writes V. A. Smith, "place the cost of the three sieges of Kandahar (1648, 1653, 1659) at 12 'crores' or 120 millions of rupees, more than half of the annual income of the empire, which is stated to have been 22 'crores', or 220 millions of rupees, in 1648. During Shah Jahan's reign the value of the rupee in English currency was usually taken at 3s. 3d. The imperial revenue, therefore, may be reckoned as 24½ millions of pounds sterling, or, in round figures, as about 25 millions."²

IV. THE DECCAN

The history of Mughal relations with the Deccan has already been sketched up to the commencement of Shah Jahan's reign. Aurang had annexed Khairabad in 1659, and captured Asirgarh in 1661, when he was seriously called to the north on account of Salim's rebellion. He had also secured Berar which was then a part of the Nizam-shahi domain of Ahmadnagar. Jahangir, in spite of his prolonged and disastrous campaigns in the Deccan, was unable to make any headway in the South. This was partly due to the quarrels among the Mughal generals, on the one hand, and the internal opposition of Malik Ambar (d. 1626), the Ahmदनगर minister of Ahmadnagar, on the other. However, thanks to the ability and prestige of Shah Jahan, the *shahanshah* was re-established. The Deccan, too, had been the refuge of many a rebel against the Empire. Shah Jahan himself had sought shelter there, with Malik Ambar and the King of Golkonda, during his rebellion as a prince. At the commencement of his reign the same story was repeated by Jangir and Khurram Jahan Lodhi in the course of their insurrections. To prevent further repetitions of this nature, as well as to pursue his ancestral policy to its logical conclusion, therefore, Shah Jahan felt it necessary to subdue the three Deccan kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda.

1. Shah Jahan-nama, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 195, 196-7.

2. Smith, *Op. cit.*, p. 495.

The reduction of Ahmadnagar became comparatively easy owing to the treacherous conduct of its officers, particularly Fath Khan, the unworthy son of Malik Ambar. When this great Ahmadian

died in 1626, the Mughal possessions in the Deccan included Khandesh, Berar, parts of Bellary, and the fort of Ahmadnagar. But during the debilitated state of the empire in the last year of Jahangir's reign, the Nizam Shahi Marathas II had virtually reconquered much of his lost territory, with the connivance of the peccant Mughal governor, Khair Jahān. When the latter, in the early years of Shah Jahān, made matters worse by his rebellion, a systematic campaign was launched against Ahmadnagar (then including Aurangabad, Jalga, Nashik, Baglana, and Kolhapur). Aram Khan, the Mughal commander, captured Dhavur and Khandhar, and though his attempt at Purna was foiled by a combination of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar forces, their guerrilla tactics, and the shortage of supplies, he succeeded in devastating the whole country and threatened the collection of the Nizam-shahi stipends. The internal weakness of the Sultanate enabled the Mughals to achieve their end without much trouble.

Fath Khan had been imprisoned for a second time, for his contumacious conduct, by Marathā II. But the present crisis and the entreaties of Marathā's wife, who was Fath Khan's sister, obtained his release and reappointment as *Vakil* and *Peshwa*. The supererogatory officer, Muzarnah Khan, on this account went over to the enemy who rewarded him with the title of *Khanan Khan*. Fath Khan showed his gratitude and patriotism by imprisoning his own master and writing to Asaf Khan, 'informing him that he had placed Nizam Shah in confinement on account of his evil character and his enmity to the Imperial throne, for which act he hoped to receive some mark of favour. In answer he was told that if he wished to prove his sincerity, he should rid the world of such a wicked being. On receiving this direction, Fath Khan secretly made away with Nizam Shah, but gave out that he had died a natural death. He placed Nizam Shah's son Hussain, a lad ten years old on the throne as his successor. He reported these facts to the Imperial Court, and was directed to send the proofs and relations of the late King, and his own eldest son as a hostage.'¹ Though

1. *Shah-Jahan-nama*, R. & D., op. cit., p. 22.

Fath Khān temporised for a time to fulfil this, he ultimately yielded and sent to the Emperor 20 elephants, 9 horses, and jewellery worth 2,00,000 rupies. He also sent the *Alamgir*, and struck coins in Shāh Jahan's name, upon which Shāh Jahan left Burhanpur, on March 6, 1652, and returned to the capital.

"With Shāhshāh's return to the North, the first stage in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar came to a close. . . . Mainly, two considerations affected Shāhshāh's decision to return to the North: first the outbreak of severe famine which drained his resources and impoverished his men, and second, the death of his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal, which grieved him intensely." He was disgusted with the Deccan and was unwilling to remain there. It was a human frailty which overcame him on this occasion; otherwise he would have left things half done."¹

But very soon Daulatabad proved the stern-curse of a fresh struggle. A dispute arose between Fath Khān and Shāhī (whose

1. Lalor's account of this famine is as follows:—"During the past year no rain had fallen in the territories of the Shāhshāh, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatabad. In the present year also there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries and a total want in the Dekhan and Gujarat. The inhabitants of these two provinces were reduced to the utmost extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy, such was to be sold for a cow, but none dared buy it; the poor-beggings' hand was now stretched out to beg for food, and the feet which had always trodden the way of dissipation walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dogs' flesh was sold for griff's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered the officers were brought to justice. Descriptions at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a dog was preferred to his liver. The territories of the dying passed shreds of the roads, and many men whose dice rollings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move, wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. These lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productivity." The relief measures will be considered later. (*ib.* & *ib.*, op. cit., p. 24).

2. She was, it will be remembered, the daughter of Asaf Khān and hence Mahr Jahan's niece. At the time of her death she was about 40 years of age, and had borne her husband eight sons and six daughters. Their married life of 25 years was unique in its happiness. She was deeply loved by Shāh Jahan for whom she was really a guide, philosopher and friend. Her sudden death during the fourteenth childbirth, at Burhanpur, shocked and strangled her husband. He did not recover of the sorrow for a week, and dropped income for two years. Like the Emperor of China's, his hair suddenly turned white. Shāh Jahan lived for 28 years more to secure her responsible age. "Mumtaz has no sweetness, life itself has no value till she was here," he declared. His shining love found its eternal counterpart in the Taj, perhaps the most unique achievement of a lover's hand yet to be seen in this world.

3. Lalor's, op. cit., p. 128.



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alliance to the Mughals has been previously mentioned) over certain grants of rights which were claimed by both. Consequently, Shahin, with the aid of the Bijapuris, prepared to besiege Path Khan in Daulatabad. 'The latter was much annoyed against the Nizamshahis and had no faith in them; so he wrote to Khawakhani Malikhat Khan, informing him that Shahin Khanda was preparing to bring a force from Bijapur against him, and that as the fortress was ill-provisioned, there was great probability of its being taken, unless Malikhat Khan came to his assistance. If the Khan came quickly, he would surrender the fortress, and would himself proceed to the Imperial Court.

'The Khawakhani accordingly sent forward his son, Khawakhani, with an advance force, and he himself followed on the 16th *Farvardin* (and) he reached Daulatabad on March 1, 1602. In the meantime, the Bijapur army met with a reverse at the hands of Khawakhani, and 'as they made offers of an arrangement to Path Khan. They offered to leave the fortress in his possession, to give him three *lacs* of *pagans* in cash and to share provisions with the fort. That ill-starred doctate follow, altered by these promises, broke his former engagement (with the *Ida* Shahi), and entered into an alliance with them. When Khawakhani, who was at Jahangpur, was informed of these proceedings, he wrote to Khawakhani, directing him to make every exertion for the reduction of the fortress, and for the possession of the *treasure* and the *Bijapuris*. When Khawakhani joined his son in the attack on Daulatabad, and stormed the fortress with shot and shell, Path Khan 'woke up from his sleep of heedlessness and idleness. He saw that Daulatabad could not resist the Imperial arms and the vigour of the Imperial commander. To save the honour of his own and Shahin Shah's women, he sent his eldest son Abdu-Razi to Khawakhani, (paying the blame of his conduct on Shahin and the *Ata-Mahar*). He begged for forgiveness and for a week's delay to enable him to remove his and Shahin Shah's family from the fortress, while he was remained as a hostage in Khawakhani's power. Khawakhani had compassion on his fellow countryman, granted him safety, and kept his son as a hostage. Path Khan asked to be supplied with the means of carrying out his family and property, and with money for expenses. Khawakhani sent him his own elephants and camels and several horses, also ten *lacs* and fifty thousand *pagans* in cash, belonging to the State, and demanded the surrender of the fortress. Path Khan sent the keys to Khawakhani, and set about preparing his own *baggage* too. Khawakhani then placed twenty guards over the gates.

'On the 15th of *Zul Hija*, Path Khan came out of the fort and delivered it up (June 17, 1602). 'The fortress consisted of nine different walls, five upon the low ground, and four upon the top of the hill.'

1. The Khawakhani gives the following description of Daulatabad—

Those with the guns and all the numbers of war were surrendered.... Khirki-khan went into the fortress, and had the shahs read in the Emperor's name.¹ The boy prince Mirza Salih was taken captive and imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior. "The son of Fakh Khán was manfully persecuted; he was admitted into the Imperial service, and received a *khilaf* and a grant of two *hauz* of respect per annum. His property also was relinquished to him, but that of Mirza Salih was confiscated."² (Sept. 21, 1633.)

Although this event virtually extinguished the Nizami-Shahi dynasty for ever, it did not mean the total subjugation of Ahmad-nagar at once. The Nizami-shahi and Adil-shahi officers still held out in some outposts which they would not surrender without a struggle. More than others, Shihāji, with his strong hold on Janar, Purna, and Chikna, now proved an intrepid and resourceful as Malik Ambar had been in the previous reign. He craved a red *ikhramat* round which he tried to rally all the Deccani forces, both Nizami-shahi and Adil-shahi.³ But the Mughals proved too strong for him, and he had to pull fort after fort to them. Mirza Khan, governor of Deolatabad, Allah Vardi Khan, governor of Panaghat, Khan Daudin, Khan Zamin, and other Mughal generals hunted Shihāji from place to place. Finally, Salih Jahān himself left Agra on Sept. 21, 1633, to direct the operations and reached Burhānpur in January, 1634. One by one Shihāji's supporters and allies were either won over or neutralised by bribes and

¹ "The old name of the bottom of Deolatabad was Dargah, or Dargahgar. It stands upon a rock which towers to the sky. In circumference it measures 3,000 *guz*, and the rock all round it appeared to naturally, from the base of the fort to the level of the water, that a reader up an act would ascend it with difficulty. Around it there is a great, heavy wall, in width, and thirty to forty, feet into the solid rock. In the heart of the rock there is a dark and tortuous passage, like the ascent of a mine, and a light is required there to be of service. The steps are cut in the rock itself, and the bottom is closed by an iron gate. It is by this end and way that the bottom is entered. By the passage a large iron beam had been constructed, which, when necessary, could be placed in the middle of it, and a fire being kindled in this beam, the heat would effectively prevent all progress. The primary means of besieging a fort by mine, subter, etc., are of no avail against it." (E. & D., op. cit., p. 41).

² Ibid., pp. 41-42.

³ "Mirza Salih was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior but the official Shihāji, says Labard, "and other turbulent Musalmān Mullahs, had raised a boy of the Mullah's family, to whom they gave the title of Nizami Jahān. They had got possession of some of the Nizami's territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government." (E. & D., op. cit., p. 52).

⁴ Khirki-khan Mahabat Khan died at this stage.

Somra, Uliga, Ansa, Milbeh, and other fortresses were laid into Marshal hands. The account of this campaign given in the *Sat-shik-sen* is as follows :—

Now that the Emperor was now disinclined, he determined to send Koko-shuen, Koko-samen, and Shoyeta Kiko, at the head of three different divisions, to punish those rebels, and in the event of Add Kiko failing to cooperate with them, they were ordered to attack and ravage his territories. . . Koko-shuen's force consisted of about 20,000 men, and he was sent towards Kambhar and Mandar, which join the territories of Golconda and Bijapur, with directions to ravage the country and to besiege the forts of Uliga and Uin, two of the strongest forts in those parts. . . Koko-samen's force also consisted of about 20,000 men. He was directed to proceed to Ahmednagar, and subdue the native territory of Siba, which lies in Chattrapuri and Adia near to Ahmednagar. After that he was to release the Koshas from the grasp of Siba, and upon receipt of instructions he was to attack and lay waste the country of Add Kiko. . .

It now became known that Add Kiko, moved by evil counsels, and doubtful of his abilities, had secretly sent money to the commanders of forts Uliga and Uin. He had also sent Khasapat Kiko with a force to protect those two forts, and had commissioned Bandhala to support Sibi. Informed with these acts, the Emperor sent a force of about 20,000 men under Sayed Kikoshida. . . to chastise him. Orders were given that he and Kiko-shuen and Kiko-samen should march into the Bijapur territories in three different directions, to prevent Bandhala from joining Sibi, and to ravage the country from east to west. If Add Kiko should shrink from his headless stupidity, and should pay proper submission, they were to hold their hands; if not, they were to make every exertion to crush him. . .

Muhammad Kiko, the Imperial envoy, approached Bijapur, and Add Kiko, fearing the consequences of showing disobedience, came forth from the city of five leagues to meet him, and made great show of submission and respect. . . But the envoy was dissatisfied that, although he made all these outward demonstrations through fear, he was really desirous of exciting disturbances and offering opposition. He made a report to this effect, and upon his arrival, the Imperial order was given to kill and ravage as much as possible in the Bijapur territories.

When Abul-Latif, the envoy to Golconda, approached the city, Kufud-Mole came forth five leagues to receive him, and conducted him to the city with great honour. . . He had the *Alahtar* read aloud in the name of the Emperor; he several times attended when *Alahtar* was read, and bestowed gifts upon the reader, and he had some stork at the Emperor's name, and sent specimens of them to Court.

Add Kiko, finding that his territory was ravaged by the Moghal armies, at last submitted. "He agreed to pay

a tribute equivalent to twenty four oxen, sheep, etc., and engaged that if Sish returned and surrendered Jaur and the other forts in the Mokekshah territory to the Imperial officers, he would take him into his service, but if Sish did not do so, he would assist the Imperial forces in reducing the forts and punishing Sish. . . . There was, therefore, no chance for the Emperor's staying any longer, and would be a great favour if he (Shih Jihün) would proceed to the capital, so that the subjects and people of Hsiao might return peacefully to their occupations. The Emperor graciously consented, and resolved to go and spend the rainy season at Hsiao. Add Khün's tribute, . . . arrived, and was accepted. The Emperor conferred to him the territory of Bqpar and the fortress of Parada, which had formerly belonged to Nialma-i Malik, but the command had transferred to Add Khün for a while. He also conferred to him all the country of Koken on the sea-shore, which had been formerly held half by him and half by Nialma-i Malik' (May 5, 1626.)

'On the 1st Shih Miao the Emperor appointed Prince Asangash to the government of the Dalaiin. This country contains 64 forts, 53 of which are situated on hills; the remaining 11 are in the plain. It is divided into four areas. 1. *Daulatbad*, with *Ahmadnagar* and other districts, which they call the side of the Dalaiin. The capital of this province, which belonged to Nialma-i Malik, was formerly *Ahmadnagar*, and afterwards *Daulatbad*. 2. *Falqama*. This is situated in the side of *Bilighin*. 3. *Kadavash*. The fortress of this province is *Asir*, and the capital is *Buzdarpur*, situated four *hao* from *Asir*. 4. *Bower*. The capital of this province is *Erichpur*, and its famous fortress is called *Qawit*. It is built on the top of a hill, and is noted above all the fortresses in that country for strength and security. The whole of the three provinces and a part of the fourth is in the *Poyu-shih*. The 'joint or total revenue of the four provinces is two *Arabs* of *down*, equivalent to five *crosses* of *rupees*.' Both from a civil and military point of view, Asangash's appointment proved particularly happy for the Empire.

'Sish had declined entering the service of Add Khün, and refused to surrender Jaur and the other fortresses to the Imperial officers. Add Khün,

Shahs, sent his forces, under the command of Shahshah, to co-operate with the Imperial army in the destruction of Sulu, and the reduction of his fortresses.¹ This was again pointed at last by Khati-mulla, who, however, succumbed at the end of this struggle and died at Daulatabad "from a complication of diseases of long standing...." Shajidin Khati was appointed to succeed him in his command.²

According to Abul Hasan Lahori, whose narrative we have followed so far, "When the place (Sulu) was hard pressed, Sulu wrote separately to Khati-mulla, offering to surrender the fortress on condition of being received into the Imperial service. He was advised that if he wished to save his life, he must come to terms with Adil Khati. For such was the Emperor's command. He was also advised to be quick in doing so, if he wished to escape from the wrath of the beleaguer. So he was compelled to make his submission to Adil Khati, and he brought that a treaty might be made with him. After the arrival of the treaty, he made some absurd unreasonable demands, and withdrew from the agreement he had made. But the siege was pressed on, and the final attack drove him, when Sulu came out of the fort and met Shahshah half way down the hill, and surrendered himself with the young Mullas. He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khati, and to surrender the fortress of Jand and the other forts to Imperial possession.... Accordingly, the forts of Jand, Tibrak, Traspawan, Hana, Jalkas, Jand and Harwan, were delivered over to Khati-mulla.... Shahshah under the order of Adil Khati placed the young Mullas in the hands of Khati-mulla, and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Shah. The last of the Mullas family, here referred to, was also imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, where there were two other of the Mullas—one of whom was made prisoner at the capture of Ahmadnagar in the reign of Jalalpur, and the other at the death of Daulatabad in the present reign."³

This brought about the final extinction of the Mullas-shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. "Thus after forty years of state (1555-1595)," writes Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, "the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled. The position of the Emperor was secured beyond challenge, his boundaries clearly defined, and his suzerainty over the southern kingdoms formally established."⁴

The direct surrender of Khati Shah to the Imperial demands of Shah Jahan, described above, was due to several causes. In the first place, the Khati shahi had felt the might of the Moghul arm as early as 1628, when Salur Khati, the Imperial Governor of Orissa, captured the strategic

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

2. *Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb*, I, p. 41.

stronghold of Muzangpeth in the north of the kingdom. This was followed, a year later, by the invasion of Telengana by Nasir Khān, the seizure of Kandhar,¹ and the reduction of nearly a third of that province. Secondly, Gulshāra was weakened by her internal squabbles. Mir Jūmā, a Persian adventurer from Ardabīl, who started life as a jeweller, had entered the service of Koth Khān, and risen to the position of the prime-minister. Ultimately, by virtue of his ability also as a general, he threatened to usurp the throne itself. Mir Jūmā, 'in whose hands was the entire administration of Kothāi Mūll's kingdom,' according to the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* 'had, after a severe struggle with the Karātūkhā, brought under subjection, in addition to a powerful fort, a tract of country measuring 120-lee in length, and 20 or 30 in breadth, and yielding a revenue of 40 lacs of rupees. It also contained mines teeming with diamonds, and so one of Kothāi Mūll's ancestors had ever been able to give possession of any portion of it. Having destroyed several strong forts built by the Karātūkhā, he had brought this country into his power.'² His jealous master fearing Mir Jūmā's growing power imprisoned his son. So, Mir Jūmā appealed to the Mughal Court for intervention.

The ambitious and aggressive Aurangzeb, who had been victorious in the Deccan for eight years from 1626 to 1644, was again in the south at this time. In 1637 he had gone to the capital for his own marriage with Durrā Banu Begum, daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān. Again in 1644 he went to Agra to see his sister Jahanāra who was dangerously ill, being accidentally burnt, her skirts having caught fire over a candle. "She bore the

Aurangzeb's second marriage (1637-38).

1 'Nasir Khān had been placed in command of a force, with instructions to conquer the kingdom of Telengana. He resolved upon reducing the fort of Kandhar (about 25 miles west of Ghazni, and 20 miles south-west of Kandahar), which was exceedingly strong, and the most famous one of that country. . . . The garrison kept up a discharge of musket, mortar, stones and grenades, but the attacking parties pressed on. The conflict lasted from mid-day till sunset, but the wall of the fortress was not sufficiently breasted and the defenders kept up such a heavy fire that the assailants were forced to retire. At night the trenches were carried forward, and preparations were made for firing the other side. The garrison saw that the place must fall, and . . . made offers of surrender which were accepted, and the imperial troops took possession of the fortress. . . . The siege had lasted for four months and 15 days, and the place lay on the Rōh Ghazni.' *Farukh-nāma*, I & II, pp. 24, VII, pp. 26-27.

2 *E. R. & G.*, op. cit., p. 108. Kandhar's loss means the subjects of the Rākā of Ghazni, representatives of the *Vijayanagara* dynasty.

between life and death for four months, and was not finally cured until November."¹ Miraculously enough, when Anangzeb was still in Agra, he was superseded in the South, and after a little over eight months sent to Gujarat (Feb. 16, 1657). In January, 1657, he was transferred by Balh, Badaishah and Karamah, whom, for no fault of his, he had to return discomfited in 1652. Anangzeb's pride was mortified, and he desired to restore his reputation by persisting in the little north-western campaign. But Shah Jahan had lost faith in him; he said, "If I had believed you capable of taking Kandahar, I should not have recalled your army." Nevertheless, as Lane-Poole has observed, the campaign in Afghanistan and beyond the Hindukush, "was of the greatest service to Anangzeb. They put him in touch with the Imperial army, and enabled him to prove his courage and tactics in the eyes of the best officers in the land. The generals learnt to appreciate him at his true value, and the men discovered that their prince was as cool and steady a leader as the best officer in India. He had gone over the mountains a reputed devotee, with no military record to give him prestige. He came back an approved general: a prince, whose wisdom, courage, endurance, and resolution had been tested and confirmed in three arduous campaigns. The wars over the north-west frontier had ended as such wars have ended since, but they had done for Anangzeb what they did for Stewart and Roberts: they placed their leader in the front rank of Indian generals."²

Such was Anangzeb when he assumed, for a second time, the viceroyalty of the Deccan (1657). Though he lingered for about nine months at Burhanpur, enthralled by the charms of Hosh Bai alias Zaidabadi Mahal, he soon took up his headquarters at Daulatabad, and set about improving the economic condition of his new charge. Thus, however, we shall consider a little later. With his economic resources considerably increased by his own fiscal reforms, basking for an opportunity to restore his prestige with his father by some fresh conquests, and not a little enthralled at the prospect of striking a blow at the heretical Shias of the Deccan, Anangzeb grasped the occasion provided by the invitation of Mir

1. Smith, *O. E.* p. 438. Smith discusses the familiar story of the English warpage, Colonel Daulahian (Daulat), having saved the Province in return for trade privileges for the E. I. Co. Daulahian did not proceed to Agra until 1655, when Jahangir had already got well. (*Ibid.*, p. 43.)

2. Lane-Poole, *Mughal India*, pp. 138-42.

the great ruler died on Nov. 4, 1666, leaving his kingdom to his sixteen-year-old son and heirson. Aurangzeb, ever watchful for an opportunity, obtained permission from Shah Jahan 'to settle the affairs of Bijapur in any way he thought fit.' Though Bijapur was not a vassal state, he put forward a claim to settle its succession on the alleged plea that the boy-Sultan was not the son of his predecessor but only an obscure pretender.

The Mogul armies once again flooded the Adil-shahi territory. Mir Jamsi was called from the north to co-operate with Aurangzeb. The important fortress of Bidar (which had come into the possession of Bijapur in 1609) was the first to be besieged.

This strong fortress was 4,000 yards (4rd) in circumference, and twelve yards high, and it had three deep ditches twenty-five yards (ard) wide and fifteen yards deep, cut in the stone. The Prince (Aurangzeb) went out with Muzum Khan (Mir Jamsi) and reconstructed the fort on all sides. He fortified the places for the lines of approach, and raised the beacons which were to maintain them. Notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up from the batteries and the cannon, in the course of ten days Muzum Khan and the other brave commanders pushed their guns up to the very edge of the ditch and began to fill it up. Several times the parties retired back and made three attacks upon the trenches, but each time they were driven back with a great loss of killed and wounded.

At the end of March, 1667, however, Fateh fell after a gallant resistance. The commander of the fortress (Gad Salgar), with great humility, sent the quarter and as he was mortally wounded and unable to move, he sent his sons with the keys of the fortress. They were graciously received by the Prince who presented them with 10,000, and presented them the Imperial favour. On the day after giving up the keys, the Prince entered the city, and proceeding to a mosque which had been built 300 years before, in the reign of the Bahman Sultan, he caused the shirka to be read in the name of the Emperor.... This strong fortress was then taken in twenty-seven days. Twelve lac of rupees in money, and eight lac of rupees in food, gun-powder, stores, and other munition of war, were obtained, besides two hundred and thirty guns.¹

1. 'Bidar is a pleasant, well built city,' writes the same chronicler, 'and stands on the borders of Teluguana. It is related in the histories of Madagash that Bidar was the seat of government of the King of the Deccan; and that the King of the Karastah, Anahita (Anahita), and Teluguana were subject to the King of Bidar. Damsa (Damsa), the beloved of King Nala of Vidura, whose story Shalva (Shalva) has told in the poem entitled *Nala* a Damsa's daughter of Bidar was, the mother of Bidar. Salgar Muhammad, one of Salgar Tughlak, first entered the place. After that it passed into the hands of the Bahmanis, and subsequently into the possession of the Kings of Bijapur. By the favour of God, it now forms part of the Imperial dominions. *Amal* 566, B. 4. Ch. ap. 18. Vol. pp. 124-5.

Next, "intelligence reached the Prince that large bodies of the forces of Ajit Khan were collecting at Kalbarga, and preparing for war. He consequently sent Malikhat Khan, with 15,000 well-armed men, to chastise these forces, and not to leave any trace of rebellion in that country. Every building and habitation was to be thrown down, and the land was to be made a dwelling for the ewe and lion.... Malikhat Khan (17) then routed Kaljain, and continued his march. Every day the blood-curdled screams of the enemy appeared in the distance, but they declined to retreat....."

Kaljain, the ancient capital of the Chhatrapas (18 miles west of Bidar), was besieged by the Mughals in May, 1657; it capitulated, after a brave defence, on 1st Aug. 1657. Now the road to Bijapur lay open to the invaders. But, as in the case of Golkonda before, Shah Jahan at the peak of the moment called off the war-pigs. Peace, however, left Bidar, Kaljain, and Paranda in the possession of the Mughals. The Sultan also agreed to pay an indemnity of 1½ crores, a third of which was remitted by Shah Jahan. The threat of Shah Jahan and the ensuing disorders soon changed the whole face of affairs.

The alarming tale of the fratricidal war of succession need not detain us long. Though it lasted only a little less than a year, from the illness of Shah Jahan (1657-58), to the coronation of Aurangzeb, in July 1658, its trailing cloud of crime cast a portentous shadow over the future of the Empire. Khurram, Asad, Murad, Hakim, Salim, Khizr, and Khurram had all been guilty of rebellion against their own ruling house. Humayun, otherwise humane, had been forced into a fratricidal war in spite of himself by the treachery of his brothers: Jahangir, out of sheer impatience, had opened a dark chapter in the history of the Mughal Empire for the emulation of his successors; Shah Jahan had secured his throne by the virtual murder of his brothers Khizr, Pariz, Shahshah, and other relatives. Aurangzeb was only following too closely the examples of his predecessors. The unfortunate, though perhaps unconscious, motto of the house seemed to be: "Killing is better than being killed"; the widespread of the brothers who were now at death-grips with one another appeared to be: "killed or killed"—either crown or coffin.

Princes Ulugh Khizr, Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad were all uterine brothers. Their ages were respectively 43, 41, 38, and 35

years at the time of this feudal struggle. The eldest seemed to be the father's favourite, and would have normally succeeded to the throne. Though he spent most of his time at the Capital with both Jahan, he was nominally the viceroy of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces. Shuja was governor of Bengal and Orissa; Aurangzeb of the Deccan; and Murad of Gujarat. All four were reputed soldiers, though each of the other three yielded the palm to Aurangzeb in point of steadiness and strength of character, valour, and governance. In religious outlook also, Aurangzeb was as determined to uphold orthodox Sunni Islam as his brothers were either indifferent or nearly-gentle. Durr was eclectic like Akbar, Shuja was Shia, and Murad, at least for political purposes, a lover of heresy. Hence the first combination of the younger two against the eldest; once the discontent of the latter was allayed the latter were quits. Aurangzeb had the same axe for all, though Durr was executed on a charge of heresy and Murad on a charge of murder. Shuja escaped beyond the north-eastern frontier only to be done to death by the Afghans. Durr's son, Sulaiman Shikoh, was not treated more kindly than Aurangzeb's own son, Muhammad Sultan, for crimes which were not dissimilar in the eyes of the fanatical Aurangzeb: the former had fought for his father, and the latter for his father-in-law (and uncle) Shuja, who were equally heretical and therefore equally hateful,—both were imprisoned and then 'sent to hell.' But in spite of all this Aurangzeb was not a blood-thirsty fiend: as Smith writes, Aurangzeb, while not drinking from any severity desired necessary to secure his throne, had no taste for inhumanities, executions

1. Cf. Smeaton, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-5. "Id. Again, the author of *Talashnāma*, says that after the fall of the 2nd Qutubshah dynasty, Shuja and Aurangzeb on their way to their respective provinces, arrived together at Delhi, where they stopped for six days to repair the bond of kinship between them (their dearest friend of their eldest brother Durr). Shuja betrothed his daughter to Sultan Muhammad and Aurangzeb betrothed his daughter to Farrukhabad. On the receipt of the report of the union of the Emperor, Aurangzeb, Shuja, and Murad opened a brisk correspondence between them. To expedite the marriages of Akbar, whom were celebrated at appropriate places between Gujarat and Bengal by way of the Deccan and Orissa. Some of these letters which have survived demonstrate, and have come down to us in full a glowing story of the plans made by these brothers to overthrow Dara. It is clear that the services of Shuja from Bengal, and of Murad and Aurangzeb from the Deccan was necessary for a concerted agreement among them in which they promised to meet near Agra. . . . If the young attack only one of us, the other two should try to prevent this."

blood-shed, and when he felt his power established beyond danger of dispute by the sons of his brothers, was willing to allow the youths to live.¹ Nay, he went a step further and married his two daughters, the third and the fifth respectively to Syahir Shahidi (younger son of Ibad) and Isaf Shahidi (son of Muzid).

'As at a signal, straight the voms prepare
For open force, and rush to sudden war;
Meeting like winds broke loose upon the main
To prove by arms whose side it was to right.'

From the point of view of our study of the Empire no purpose would be served by going into the details of the *Fitna*. The *Fitna* itself was. When all is stated, it only illustrated

the basic weakness of a system that could be set at naught at the mere illness of the Emperor; the darker side of the family tradition of the house of Tihah that exalted self and power above everything else; and the comparative ability of Akbarpala in diplomacy and war in contrast with the political impotency of his brothers. The circumstances which led to the disunion and death of the weaker parties may be briefly stated as follows:—

1. When Shih Jahin Jafar III, in September 1657, he formally nominated Isaf Shahidi his successor, to avert the possible tragedy of a war of succession.²

2. In spite of this, on the 8th December 1657, Muzid proclaimed himself Emperor at Ahmedabad, struck coins and led the *shahi* road in his own name.

3. Shihpala did the same at Rajmahal in Bengal, and marched

1. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

2. According to the *Imam-ul-Ummat* (Grand Shah, p. 226), Akbarpala wrote to Muzid: "I understand that the influence of the society (Isaf) in administration, taxation and appointments has attained considerable proportions. He is now trying to collect treasure and an army.—We should be very cautious at this time and should not write anything indiscreet to our brother." He also wrote to the Emperor (Ibid., pp. 226-227): "You no longer hold the control of political or financial affairs; it is in the hands of those who have usurped it.... As he cannot reckon against me, it would be better for him to retire to his place in the Punjab, and leave your empire in my hands."

Sayyid Mahmud, who was in the service of Ibad, has a different story from that related above. "Some authors," he writes, "according to what they have been told, say that Isaf seized his father and deposed him of his power by force; but I assert that to be a great mistake, for I know, and have traced it, that Isaf was quite submissive. (*Ma'ayin*, p. 151).

with an army and fleet towards Bohara which he reached on January 28, 1858.

4. Aurangzeb, quick to apprehend the situation, but too slow to precipitate matters, proposed to act, not in his own name, but in the interests of India and his younger brother Murad. The Empire was to be saved from the hands of Durr and Shuja, a third of the booty was to be given to Murad together with the Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Sindh - the rest to be divided by Aurangzeb himself.

5. Mir Jamsi who was called to the north, by order of Shah Jahan, was not allowed by Aurangzeb to proceed from the Deccan. He was arrested and his army thus made available for Aurangzeb. Smith says, "The circumstances indicate that probably Mir Jamsi continued at his own arrest. Certainly he did not consent to, nor did he fail to continue to give his ally available support when released . . . Mir Jamsi's fine park of artillery proved to be extremely useful."

6. At the beginning of February 1858, Aurangzeb too assumed Imperial prerogatives. On 3rd April he crossed the Maratha and joined forces with Murad near Uga.

7. On 15 April, 1858, the Imperial army, under Khasa Khasa and Talpa Jaurang Singh of Jodhpur, was defeated at Dharnat, (14 miles NW of Uga) by the rebel Prince. Jaurang Singh fled from the battlefield, but his men would not give him shelter after such rank cowardice!

8. Durr Shikoh then encountered the rebels at Sarangpur (8 miles to the east of Agra fort), on May 28, 1858. A more accident in this well-contested battle, in which the Rajputs 'did honour to the traditions of their race,' turned the tide in favour of Aurangzeb. "The battle (at Sarangpur)", as Smith says, "readily decided the war of succession. All the subsequent efforts to retrieve the route then lost, whether made by Durr Shikoh himself, by his son Salimshah Shikoh, or by Shuja and Murad Bahadur, were in vain. Aurangzeb proved himself to be by far the ablest of the princes in every phase of the contest, which was not ended until two years later, in May 1860, when Shuja met his miserable fate."

1. *op. cit.* p. 418.

2. *Ibid.* p. 421.

The success of Aurangzeb was largely due to his better equipment and gunnery. Murad observed that although Durr's army made

9. On 28 June 1658 Aurangzeb took possession of Agra fort and imprisoned Shah Jahan therein for life.¹ Shah Jahan died there on 22nd January 1666, going for the last time on the tomb of his beloved wife with whom he now lies buried.

10. Murad was apprehended on June 25, 1658, and finally imprisoned and executed at Gwalior, in December 1661. A charge of murder was brought against him by the son of Ali Mirda who was Murad's one time friend. The Prince was tried and condemned by a *Khat* 'with all the forms of law.'

11. On July 31, 1660, Aurangzeb had himself crowned, though his formal enthronement was deferred until June 1662.

12. Salimrao Shikoh had defeated Shajja at Burhanpur (near Bikaner) in February 1655. Aurangzeb again sought him at Khatwas (Pachpur District), on January 5, 1659. Thence he fled to Arkan where he met with his death in May 1660.

13. Durr was hunted from place to place through Multan, Sindh, Kathiawar and Gujarat. He was betrayed once near Ajmer, by Jaamat of Jodhpur. Finally, while he was trying to escape to Persia, he was again betrayed by Malik Juman Khan, the Afghan chief of Dhandar (near Bikaner Pass) on June 9, 1660. The death of his beloved wife Nadira Begum (daughter of Persia) had much

'a heavy and splendid show,' the greater number of them 'were not very useful; they were beards, turbans, blouses, caparisons, bellows, and such-like. It is true that on their horses and with their arms they looked well as a person, but they had no heart, and knew nothing of war' (Feroz, p. 50). "Durr," he further points out, 'had not sufficient experience in matters of war, having been brought up among the dancing-women and beggars of his father, and gave under credit to the words of the traitors' (ibid., p. 50).

1. Memoir refers to looking toward to the sufferings and humiliation of Shah Jahan in his prison life, to which he was, eye-witness: 'Going there several times,' he says, 'I noted the impracticability of Shah Jahan was closer than can be expressed. There passed not a day, while I and others were in conversation with the Governor (Feroz Khan), when there did not come to somebody to whisper into his ear an account of all the words and acts of Shah Jahan, and even what passed among the wives, ladies, and slave girls. Sometimes, smiling at what the eunuchs told him, he would make the company share in what was going on inside, making some kind expressions in disparagement of Shah Jahan. Not content with this even, he sometimes allowed it to be seen that he treated him as a miserable slave. . . . as that, by force of dis-tasteful, the wretched old man might die. I do not know how it was with the crime, who were present when this was done, but I certainly tell it now. I know the dignity with which Shah Jahan lived when he was free and Emperor of Hindustan; it was doubly and when imprisoned that Feroz Khan was formerly slave of this same Shah Jahan, by whom he was given to Aurangzeb.' (ibid., pp. 112-113).

distracted Dürî. 'Death was painted in his eyes . . . Everywhere he saw only destruction, and living his scenes became utterly hopeless of his own affairs.' In the words of Khudî Khân, 'Mountain after mountain of trouble thus proved open the heart of Dürî, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind re-keeper retained its equilibrium . . . At the end of Zîl-hijje, 1089 (Sept. 1089), the order was given for Dürî Shukh to be put to death under a legal sentence of the keepers, because he had apostatised from the law, had visited pilgrims, and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity. After he was slain, his body was placed in a burlap and carried round the city (as once before when he was alive). So once alive and once dead he was exposed to the eyes of all men, and many wept over his fate. He was buried in the tomb of Husniyya'.¹

Dürî, like Khudî, was an enlightened and popular Prince Basmî, who was an eye-witness to these tragic happenings, records 'Everywhere I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dürî in the most touching language . . . from every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks, . . . men, women, and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves'. Several works are attributed to Dürî Shukh: (1) *Semâ-i-sâir*, a translation of the 80 *Upanishads*; (2) *Majma'at-Sakhrain*, a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu Vedânta with Sad' equivalents; (3) *Diwân* with *Saba Laf*; (4) *Sikah-i-sa'diyye* containing lives of the Muslim saints; (5) *Khizir-i-Laguman*, and (6) a Persian translation of the *Atkharat-nafis*. The charge

1. *Muntahat-ul-Lafih*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 244-45.

2. *Tarikh*, II, p. 244.

Dürî, like Basmî, 'was not deficient in good qualities: he was courteous, ~~generous~~ generous, quick as a rapier, polite, and extremely liberal; but he perceived too readily an occasion of insult', believed he could accomplish everything by the power of his own mind, and imagined that there existed no man that whom he could drive back; his pride dispiritedly at those who ventured to advise him and thus deserted his closest friends from disclosing the secret machinations of his heart. He was also very amiable; apt to converse, generous and yielding even to the greatest enemies, but his anger was nothing more than transitory. Born a Mohammedan, he continued to join in the exercises of that religion, but although thus publicly professing his adherence to its beliefs, Dürî was an intimate a Christian with Christian and a Christian with Christians. He had constantly about him some of the friends or Christian doctors, on whom he bestowed large pensions. He had, moreover, for some time had a willing ear to the suggestions of the Mar Pn Basmî, a Jew in the truth and propriety of which he began to disapprove.'

levelled against him were (a) That he conversed with Brahmins, Yajñis, and Sanyasins; (b) that he regarded the Hindu Vedas as revealed literature; (c) that he wore rings and ornaments with the inscription 'Prabhu' on them; and (d) that he disapproved the equations of Jaina regarding the observance of the fast of *Asvada*, etc.

V. GOLDEN AGE OF THE EMPIRE

The Empire, for which the brothers fought so furiously, was yet to grow to its fullest extent in the next reign; but it is certain that it was never more prosperous than during the thirty years (1027-57) of Shih Jai's rule. In spite of the early rebellions, which were soon crushed; in spite of the foreign wars of aggression beyond the frontiers, which cost enormously with no return whatsoever; in spite of the famine in the Deccan and Gujarat, which devastated a vast portion of the country; and in spite of the constant fighting in the Deccan, which, while it resulted in the subjugation of Ahmednagar, Golkonda, and Bijapur, also involved a great drain in the resources of the Empire, the age of Shih Jai showed much that was glorious, and many an unmistakable sign of unguished prosperity, to justify this period being described as the Golden Age of the Empire.

His Shih Mai, in his *Lakshat-tantrikā*, records with admiration: "The means employed by the King

Prosperity

(Shih Jai) in these happy times to protect and nourish his people, his knowledge of what made for welfare, his administration by honest and intelligent officers, the settling of accounts, his care of the crown-lands and their tenants, and encouragement of agriculture and the collection of revenue, together with his punishment and admonition of evil doers, brigglings and malecontents, all tended to the prosperity of the Empire. The pangama which had brought in these loss in Akbar's reign now yielded ten, though some fell short, and those who increased the revenue by careful agriculture were rewarded, and vice versa. The expenditure of former reigns was not a fourth of the cost of this reign, and yet the King quickly amassed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate under his predecessors."

1. Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 169.

According to Blochmann (*The Agrarian System of Medieval India*, p. 126), "Under Akbar the rapidly increasing imperial expenditure was

European critics, partly judging by modern standards, and partly reluctant to acknowledge that India was ever more prosperous than in her own times, are rather chary to admit the truth of the above description, except grudgingly and with qualifications. Thus we come across statements like the following: "The reign of Shih Jishi, which covers nearly forty years, from 1607 to 1658 is usually regarded as the golden period of Manchu rule. It was certainly a period of great prosperity. Foreign wars were few and unimportant; at home there was peace and abundant plenty, and the royal treasury seemed full to overflowing. Yet despite the vast treasure which Shih Jishi had inherited from his father and grandfather; despite the growth of a large trade between Indian and western Asia, which was rendered possible by the existence of a strong Government in Persia; despite the establishment of the export trade with Europe, which certainly brought some profit to the Manchu Empire, and in spite of other apparent advantages, the reign of Shih Jishi warranted the best of the Empire and of its economic system." The writer further elaborates: "To meet the expenditure of Shih Jishi's extravagant bureaucracy and to pay for the splendid architectural monuments, which alone would render his reign memorable, an insupportable burden was laid upon the agricultural and industrial masses, upon whom the very life of the Empire ultimately depended. Thus was engendered the national lassitude which, becoming more marked during the reign of his successor, proved one of the most potent factors in the subsequent disintegration of the great organisation which he inherited from Athar and Jishang."¹

none then covered by the growth of the Empire, and revenues in cash were centralized. Jishang neglected the administration, and the annual income from the Reserved lands fell to 50 lakhs of ruyens, while the annual expenditure was 120 lakhs, and the accumulated treasure was drawn on by large sums. Shihshihai as his successor paid the emperor on a second basis: he received debts calculated to yield 120 lakhs, as income, paid the annual expenditure of 200 lakhs, and had then a large remaining balance for emergency. Extraordinary war for which the limit for annual appropriation raised the reserved income to 300 lakhs (the figure given in *Shih-shih-chi-chiu*) for 1647, and in 1650 400 lakhs by the end of the reign. Antagonists at first aimed at restoring the balance between income and expenditure, but too long was in the Dynasty were careless, and at his death only 15 or 20 lakhs of ruyens were left in the treasury, a sum which was rapidly dissipated by his successors."

¹ Edwards and Garrett, op. cit., p. 99. (Italics mine.)

A more solid part of public disportment, which looks like impartial appreciation, is difficult to find. We do not seek to exaggerate the claims and shortcomings of Shōin Jishi's reign; but it is necessary to admit the undoubted prosperity of however short a period without coming up with it matters of an enormous future. Denudation of 'extravagant businesses' and 'unbearable burden laid upon the agricultural and industrial masses,' as well as the 'engendering of national insolvency,' would lead us in controversies far beyond the scope of this work, but it is certainly not possible to father the sins of his successors upon Shōin Jishi. In the first place the splendid 'extravagance' of Shōin Jishi was never imitated by his political successor Arai Hakuseki;¹ on the contrary, the solicitude for the agriculturists, from whatever motive, was continued by Arai Hakuseki; and lastly, the springs of Arai Hakuseki's actions are not to be traced to the initiative of his father whom he hated, repulsed, and expiated. The complexity of issues that brought about 'the disintegration of the great organisation' of the Mikado Empire will be discussed in the proper place.

To give another example of the undue severity of biased criticism, Venner Smith observes: "Shōin Jishi has received from most modern historians, and especially from Elphinstone, treatment widely favourable. The magnificence of his court, the extent and wealth of his empire, the comparative peace which was preserved during his reign, and the unique beauty of his architectural masterpieces, the *Tōji*, have combined to darken the vision of his modern biographers, most of whom have shared over his many crimes and exaggerated such virtues as he possessed."² In his zeal to correct this 'widely favourable' picture of Shōin Jishi Smith has overdone the task, and 'darkened over his many' virtues and 'exaggerated such' crimes as he was guilty of. Apart from Shōin Jishi's personal failings as a son, as a brother, as a father, and finally as a widower, "In affairs of state," says Smith, "he was cruel, treacherous, and unscrupulous"; though he does not fail to add "perhaps not worse than most other kings of his time, but certainly not better." Then, "he had little skill as a military leader." On

1 "The political Arai Hakuseki owed his name to these things.... probably speaking, the atmosphere of Arai Hakuseki's court was unfavourable to the arts." (Smith, *O. D.*, p. 419).

2 *O. D.*, p. 418. (Notes read.)

organisation and command of his army was excellent. "Said Jahan's justice" was surely the average, unfeeling severity of the ordinary Islamic despot, exercised without respect of persons and without the slightest tincture of compassion." (Shahin of Ghazan I and Louis XIV bear witness.) Peter Mundy and "Other travellers bear similar testimony to the misgovernment of the country" (p. 192). "a highly trained observer," who was "deeply interested" in a *fillette* as what he saw, and "free from personal bias for or against either Shah Jahan or Aurangzeb," is one that "cannot be brushed aside" as "a hostile European witness." "He speaks of the actual state of the country at the most brilliant period of Mogul rule, when the dynasty was fully established, rich beyond compare, and undisturbed by foreign aggression." His "personal observations" and "glowing expressions" regarding "the upper provinces" are then carefully cited: "Thus the rain and dew-drops overgrew the land" (Bernier's *Travels*, p. 281). "Similar rule and tyranny had been the lot of the Deccan during the years from 1644 to 1683, in the interval between the first and second vicereignty of Aurangzeb," when a great famine devastated the Deccan and Gujarat. "The prodigal expenditure and unexampled splendour of the court which occupy so prominent a place in most of the current descriptions of Shah Jahan's rule had therefore a dark background of suffering and weary sorrow exposed to view." Then follow "a few phrases of painful vividness" from the pen of "the official historian, Abul-Hamid," who "contrary to the frequent practice of writers of his kind, makes no attempt to disguise the horror of the calamity."

Yet Smith detects the "gross wickedness and beauty" of Shah Jahan described by the same writer; but, "So far as Mundy was, *sojhan*," "the suffering people was done by the government; though "Kasimbah, the camp of Shah Jahan at Burhanpur was filled with prisoners of all kinds." Of course "His statistics are on record"; but we are not without imagination. "Though "Even the nature of the consequent pestilence is not mentioned," "it is almost certain that cholera must have carried off myriads of victims." For, "Sir Richard Temple, the editor of Mundy's work, has good reason for saying that 'it is worthless to read Mundy's unpassioned, matter of fact observations on this famine,' in order to realise the inequality of the difference in the conditions of life as existing under the rule of the Mogul dynasty when at the height of

"the glory and those presiding under the modern British government!"

Nevertheless, Elphinstone is perfectly right when he describes

Other Side of the Age of Shah Jahan as "the most prosperous Period . . . ever known in India, . . . together with a larger share of good government than often falls to the lot of Asiatic nations. Notwithstanding Shah Jahan's love of ease and pleasure . . . he never remitted his vigilance over his imperial government; and by this, and the judicious choice of his ministers, he prevented any relaxation in the system, and even introduced important improvements—such as his survey of the Deccan."¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 415-16, 395-96.

² His ministers were men of the highest ability. Said Ali Ad Khan, a converted Hindu, was the most capable statesman of his age, and Ali Murad and Asaf Khan were men of approved integrity and energy. (Luzon-Franks, *ibid.*, p. 345.)

The improvement of the administration in the Deccan was the work of Asangrah and Murad Qutb Khan. The former at that time was Viceroy in the Deccan. The latter was a native of Khurram who had come to India in the train of Ali Murad Khan, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, who had come over to the Mughal side. He is said to have employed in himself "the talent of a soldier with the administrative capacity of a civil servant."

The maladministration of predecessors had considerably reduced the treasury and revenues. "At this time the civil and military expenditure of the Deccan, exclusive of the salary derived by the officials from their rights, produced an annual deficit of Rs. 10,00,000, which was made good by drawing the reserves stored in the treasuries of the Deccan. . . . When appointing him to the Deccan, Shah Jahan had ascertained Asangrah as to his special attention to the improvement of the peasantry and the extension of cultivation. Asangrah had promised to do his best for those objects. . . . The new Asangrah's reform consisted in extending Tadar Mita's system to the Deccan. First he worked hard to gather the scattered ryots together and induce the normal life of the villages by giving them their full population and proper class of officers. Everywhere the same and honest surpluses were demanded to restore the land to its proper use, the ryots of well worked out holdings (irrigated, and to determine arable land from rocky soils and water-courses. . . . Every village had lost its business (occupations) he took care to support it . . . away from the persons whose character gave the best promise of their readiness to promote cultivation and take sympathetic care of the peasantry. The poorer ryots were granted loans (darnas) from the public treasury, for the purchase of capital, seeds and other useful materials of agriculture, and the advance was recovered at harvest by deductions."

His second reform was to adapt the system to the varying needs of each locality. Thus, "The revenue at the fixed rate of 10 annas 16 per *beg* Asangrah was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seed-time to harvest and its market price and actually increasing the same area. The honest but provident system in the whole of Mughal Deccan, and well known for centuries afterwards as the 'Share of Murad Qutb Khan' His excellent system, backed by his constant vigilance and personal supervision, led to the improvement of agriculture and increase of the revenue in a few years." (Sarkar, *A Short History of Asangrah*, pp. 26-27.)

"Kishii Akiba, the best historian of those times, gives his opinion, that, although Akiba was pre-occupied as a sovereign and a legislator, yet for the order and arrangement of his territory and finances and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shih Jishi . . .

"Mandala describes Agra as at least twice as large as Delhi (then in its greatest glory), with fine streets, good shops, and numerous baths and caravanserais. Nor was this prosperity confined to royal residences: all travellers speak with admiration of the grandeur of the cities, even in remote provinces, and of the fertile and productive countries in which they stood.

"Those who look on India in its present state may be inclined to suspect the native writers of exaggerating its former prosperity; but the deserted cities, ruined palaces, and clocked-up aqueducts which we will see, with the great reservoirs and embankments in the midst of jungles, and the decayed caravan-ways, wells, and caravanserais of the royal roads, concur with the evidence of contemporary travellers in convincing us that these historians had good grounds for their commendation . . .

"[S]hah Jahan was the most magnificent prince that ever appeared in India. His retinue, his state establishments, his harem and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond what they had attained to under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact, that they neither occasioned any increase to his taxation, nor any embarrassment to his treasury."

"Nevertheless the venerable character given to him in his posthumous official conduct of Shah Jahan, seems to have been Mandala's own on the throne.¹ His treatment of his people was benevolent and paternal, and his liberal sentiments towards those around him cannot be better shown than by the confidence which

1. "The popular view that the life of a Mughal Emperor was an unending round of pleasure, dissipation, sport and sensuality, is refuted by the very minute details of his [Shah Jahan's] daily routine which we come across in contemporary Persian histories. This routine was strictly inflexible, whether the Emperor was in camp or at the capital. And there is overwhelming evidence to prove that Shah Jahan led a rigorous life, and divided his time evenly between government and sport. [Mandala, op. cit., p. 208. Barker, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 1-150.]

(and the next Eastern prince) he so generously repaid in his sons.¹

This certainly does not seem an overdone or "unduly favourable picture considering the almost unanimous verdict of unbiased observers, and in the clear light of facts. "Tavernier who had repeatedly visited most parts of India, says that Shah Jahan 'reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children'; and goes on to commend the strictness of his civil Government, and speaks in high terms of the security enjoyed under it. ... Pietro Della Valle, who wrote in the last years of Jahangir (1623), when things were in a worse state than under his son, gives the following account — 'Hindu, generally, all live much after a good way; and they do it securely as well, because the King does not persecute his subjects with false accusations, nor deprive them of anything when he sees them live wickedly, and with the appearance of riches (as is often done in other Mahometan countries).'²

Even Bernier, whose "gloomy impressions" are emphasized by Vincent Smith,³ writes of the prosperity of Bengal under Shah Jahan in the following terms —

'Bengals abounds with every necessary of life; and it is the abundance that has induced so many Portuguese, Holl-nders, and other Christians, driven from their different settlements by the Dutch, to seek an asylum in this fertile kingdom. The French and Augustines, who have large churches and are permitted the free and unobscured exercise of their religion, assure me that Opoul (Hugh) alone contains from eight to nine thousand Christians, and that in other parts of the kingdom their number exceeded five-and-twenty thousand. The rich splendour of the Country, together with the beauty and amiable disposition of the native women, has given rise to a proverb so common now among the Portuguese, English, and Dutch, that the Kingdom of Bengals has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure.

'He is said to be a valuable commodity of a nation to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great

1. *Epistolaes*, op. cit., pp. 608-611.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 609 s.

3. *O. B.*, p. 418. Smith himself⁴ does not fail to acknowledge

⁴ Whatever be the true value of the personal character of Shahjahan in the efficiency of his administration, it can hardly be disputed that his reign marks the climax of the Mogul dynasty and empire. —*Ibid.*, pp. 418-19.

a variety is found. Besides the sugar, . . . there is in Bנגপ a such quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common store-house for those two kinds of Merchandise, not of Hindustan or the Empire of the Great Mogul only, but of all the neighbouring Kingdoms, and even of Europe. I have been sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Hollanders alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silk and silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to compute the quantity drawn every year from Bנגপ for the supply of the whole of the Mogul Empire, as far as Lahore and Cabul (Kabul), and generally of all those foreign nations to which the Cloths are sent.

The Dutch have sometimes seven or eight hundred weavers employed in their silk factory at Kinnon-Bazar where, in like manner, the English and other merchants employ a proportionable number.

Bנגপ is also the principal emporium for salt-petre. It is carried down the Ganges with great facility, and the Dutch and English send large cargoes to many parts of the Indies, and to Europe.

Lastly, it is from this fruitful kingdom, that the best betel, opium, wax, shal, long pepper and various drugs are obtained, and butter, which may appear to you an inconsiderable article, is in such plenty, that although it be a bulky article to export, yet it is sent by sea to numerous places.²

Marsden has recorded that, when his patron Holkham (who was the exiled Charles III's ambassador to the Mogul Court) died, two English exporters, pretending to be impartial officers, wanted to appropriate to themselves all the effects and belongings of that stranger in the Empire. When Shih Jidlin came to know of this he ordered all the property to be restored to the rightful proprietor of the dead man, with the exception of an 'arch house' which he kept for himself, giving an order to pay to the said John (Young) one thousand talens (Rs. 2,000), the price at which it had been valued. He took nothing else but the latter which was destined for

2. *Forrest*, pp. 458-62.

him.¹ The unique cord, even towards an unknown stranger in the land that illustrates the Emperor's sense of honour and justice towards all people. Baxter has also observed that 'in Hindostan every acre of land is considered the property of the king, and the spoliation of a peasant would be a robbery committed upon the King's domain.'² In the light of these statements of distinguished Europeans, Sir H爵士 Ma's eulogy regarding Shah Jahan's administration of justice is not difficult to understand. Says he,

'Overruling the great area of this country, there was no law that only one day in the week, viz., Wednesday, was fixed upon for the administration of justice; and it was easily seen that twenty plaintiffs could be found to prefer suits, the number generally being much less. The writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion, when honoured with an audience of the King, heard His Majesty state the strength of the Court that although so many confidential persons had been appointed to receive plaintiffs, and a day of the week was set apart exclusively with the view of disposing justice, yet even the small number of twenty plaintiffs could but very seldom be brought into Court.

In short, it was owing to the great interests assumed by the King towards the promotion of the national weal and the general tranquillity, that the people were restrained from committing offences against one another and breaking the public peace. But if offenders were discovered, the local authorities, next generally to try them on the spot (where the offence had been committed) according to law, and in concurrence with the law officers; and if any individual, dissatisfied with the decision passed on his case, appealed to the governor or shah, or to the dila of the sark, the matter was reviewed, and judgments were awarded with great care and discrimination but it should be mentioned in the presence of the King that justice had not been done. If parties were not satisfied even with these decisions, they appealed to the chief dila, or to the chief Muzir on matters of law. These officers instituted further inquiries with all the care, what was, except those relating to blood and religion, could become subjects of reference to His Majesty.'³

Woodward has indeed pointed out that the reign of Shah Jahan

was 'a period of unbroken tranquillity' through the confidence of the peasants towards the monarch towards the beginning of the next reign.⁴ This prosperity under Shah Jahan was largely due to his 'careful administration,' which raised the income of the State beyond all

1. *A. Paper of Mughal India*, p. 27.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

3. *Letter*, *Travels*, *East. I. & O.*, op. cit., VII pp. 128-31.

4. *Woodward*, op. cit., p. 128.

circumstances.¹ The testimony of Rishi Bhoja Mai, already cited in confirmation of this, is sought to be discredited by some on the ground that the actual orders of Shih Jishi on matters therein related to are not traceable. Misleading as certainly not correct in describing the author of the *Leibniz-Jesuitische* as "a later writer", for the Rishi himself speaks of 'the writer of this historical sketch as more than one occasion,' being 'honoured with an audience of the King (Shih Jishi).'² His account, we repeat, unmistakably points to the efficiency, benevolence, and unshaken prosperity of Shih Jishi's Empire.³

It is not possible here to make an accurate estimate of the extent of this prosperity.⁴ We, therefore, give below only a few of its visible indications, from which readers might draw their own conclusions —

1. In 1687, Shih Jishi sent, as a thank-offering, a jewelled candlestick 'to the sacred tomb of the Prophet (on whom be the greatest honours and blessings)', an account of which is here given. Having selected out of the entire candlesticks that he had amongst his private property the largest of them all, which weighed 700 taels, and was worth 10,000 ruyens, he commanded that it should be covered with a net-work of gold, ornamented on all sides with Myres and studded with gems, among which that valuable diamond⁵ should be included. In short, this incomparable candlestick cost two lacs and 50,000 ruyens, of which one lac and 50,000 was the price of the diamond, and the remaining for the worth of all the gems and gold, together with the original candlestick. Mr. Nayud Ahmad Saad Bahari, who had once before conveyed diamondine presents to the two sacred cities, was then deputed to take charge of this precious offering, and an edict was promulgated to the effect, that the revenue collectors of the provinces of Gujarat should purchase a lac and 40,000 ruyens' worth of goods for the sacred lacs, and deliver it over to him, so that he might take it along with him from thence. Of this, he was directed to present 50,000 ruyens' worth to the ~~shrine~~ of Mecca; to sell 40,000 ruyens' worth, and distribute the proceeds, together with any profits that might arise, amongst the indigent of that sacred city; and the remaining 50,000, as his master-charge there of the glorious Mecca. The above named Sahib who

1. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 120. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 171/172.

3. *Li Shih-tai*, op. cit., pp. 14-22.

4. The diamond in question was got from California as part of its tribute and weighed 100 grains about 140 carats. 'After this Sahib's own inspection had set away all worth of the stone unless as was requisite to dispose all its benefits there remained a net sum of 100 ruyens weight, valued by the jewellers at one lac and 50,000 ruyens' (*Shih Jishi-memoir of Nayud Ahmad*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 124).

was an receipt of only a daily stipend, was promoted to a notable rank, and having been successfully promoted such a dose of honour and a donation of 15,000 rupees, received his dismissal.

3. "Notwithstanding the comparatively success in the expenses of the State during this reign, given to the expense of public edifice and other works in progress, and for the great military success and etc. notwithstanding, such as those mentioned in Delhi, Badkubah and Kandahar, he, contented, as his disbursement only, to fourteen days of capture, and the advance made on account of edifice only was two days and fifty two of rupees. From this single instance of expenditure on this may be formed as to what the charges must have been under others."

4. "In the course of years many valuable pearls had come into the Imperial possession, such one of which might serve as an ear-drop for Pagan, or might adorn the girdle of the King. Upon the occasion of the Emperor, it occurred to his mind that, in the opinion of foreigners, the acquisition of such rare jewels and the keeping of such wonderful brilliants can only render one nervous, that of adorning the dress of rapine. They ought, therefore, to be put to such a use, that to ladies might draw in and bewitch by their splendour, and that Majesties might thus with increased brilliancy. It was accordingly ordered that, in addition to the jewels in the Imperial wardrobe, robes, garments, diamonds, rich pearls and sequins, to the value of 200 lots of rupees should be brought for the inspection of the Emperor, and that they, with some exquisite pearls of great weight, exceeding 50,000 mauts in weight and fourteen lots of rupees, having been carefully selected, should be handed over to De-haidi Khatu, the superintendent of the palace's equipment. There was also to be given to him one lot of lots of pure gold, equal to 25,000 mauts in weight and fourteen lots of rupees in value. The crown (which was ordered to be constructed) was to be three pie in length, two and a half in breadth, and five in height, and was to be set with the above-mentioned pearls. The outside of the canopy was to be of enamel work with coloured gems, the inside was to be thereby set with rubies, garnets and other jewels, and it was to be supported by twelve enamel columns. On the top of each pillar there was to be five pearls (diamonds) with gems and having each two pearls a row set with rubies and diamonds, emeralds and ~~pearls~~ pearls. The roof was to consist of three steps set with jewels of fine water. The device was completed in the course of seven years at a cost of 100 lots of rupees."

5. The following is an exact account of the building of the splendid lot in the above-mentioned paragraph (Shikahatkhani), with its edifice resembling Panchajanya, which was constructed in the environs of the city of Delhi, on the banks of the river Jumna. It first occurred to the emperor's mind that he should erect on the banks of the celebrated river some

1. Ibid., pp. 340.

2. *Asiatic Researches*, II. & IV. pp. 216, VII. p. 171.

3. *Asiatic Researches*, op. cit., pp. 45-6.



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pleasant site distinguished by its good climate, where he might find a splendid fort and delightful retreat, especially in the precincts of his garden, from through which streams of water should be made to flow, and the terrace of which should overlook the river. When after a long search, a plot of ground outside the city of Delhi, lying between the most distant suburbs and Jalandhar, commonly called Sarangah, was fixed upon for this purpose, by the royal command, on the night of Friday, the 22nd *Shi'ab* began on the twelfth year of his numerous reign corresponding to 1581 A.D., being the time appointed by the astrologers, the foundations were marked out with the usual ceremony according to the plan devised, on the august presence. Artists labourers were then employed in digging the foundations, and on the night of Friday the 28th of *Shahavar*, of the year concluding with 1040 A.H. (1629 A.D.) the foundation stone of this noble structure was laid. Throughout the Imperial dominions, wherever artists could be found, whether plain gun-crafters, mechanical sculptors, masons, or carpenters, by the command of the worthy, of implicit obedience they were all collected together, and multitudes of common labourers were employed in the work. It was ultimately completed on the 24th of *Rabi-ul* second, in the twenty-first year of his reign, corresponding to 1599 A.D. at an outlay of 80 lacs of rupees, after taking nine years, three months, and some days in building.¹

3. The *Til* Mahal, by common consent the most admired construction in the world, embracing the remains of Mumtaz Mahal, Shah Jahan's beloved queen who died on Tuesday, 16th June, 1657 (17 *Shi'ab* 1066 A.H.) at Burhanpur, was built on a plot purchased from Raja Jai Singh (grandson of Raja Jai Singh) north of Agra city at a cost of 5 lacs and 17 lacs of rupees,² according to the *Mahtab-Arshin*. It was begun early in 1658 and completed in January 1661, under the superintendence of Mumtaz Mahal and Mir Abdul Karim. The *Diwan-Arshin* also names the following artists employed in its construction:—Amir *Shah Shafiq*, writer of Taghah inscriptions, from Quaidpur; Master *Im* *Kala*, mason, a citizen of Agra; Master *Pan*, carpenter, a resident of Delhi; *Barabar*, Jhar *Mah*, and *Barabar*, sculptors, from Delhi; *Rajal* *Mah* *Wara*, master of the dress and the scaffolding supporting it, and *Shah-Mah* *Kashid*, gardener.³ It also gives a list of twenty categories of persons shown on in the *Til*, yet from 'Quaidpur', Corba, "the upper world", Mir, Barabar and Gawa, Jalandhar, Kanan, Miran, Kanan, Yonan, Aladar, Gawa, Ghazal, Ganda, Pata, Barabar, Miran, Tana, Corba, Pata, and Amir.⁴

Rev. H. Hume following the style of V. A. Smith tried to make out a case for the Italian Giovanni Battista, as the architect of the *Til*, on the testimony of two contemporary French writers: Mair-

¹ *Shah Jahan-nama*, pp. vii, viii, pp. 85-6.

² *Only 80 lacs according to other estimates, see Sachse, Studies in Mughal India*, p. 92.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

que and De Castro. Venezo was a Venetian jeweller who died at Lahore on 2nd August, 1880. Father Marquet appears to have got the information from De Castro (then Rector of the Jesuit College, Agra) who administered the last anction to Venezo at the time of his death. His statement is as follows:—

"The architect of these works was a Tyrolean, by name Giovanni Venezo, who had come to this part as a Portuguese dog and died in the city of Laro (Lahore) just before I reached it.

"The Emperor's Counselor (Ghorram) paid him a very high salary. . . . Fano, the well known one of good and evil news, had spread the story that the Emperor summoned him, and released him that he desired to erect a great magnificent tomb to his dead wife, and he was required to draw up some designs for this, for the Emperor's inspection.

"The architect Venezo carried out the order, and within a few days proved the great skill he had in that art by producing several models of the most beautiful architecture. He placed the rules in respect of the dresses, too, as his husband's pride and arrogance. His Majesty was displeased with him owing to his low estimate, and it is said that, becoming angry, he told Venezo to spend 3 years of wages, that is Rs. 300 *lewis*, and to inform him when it was expended. This is no large sum as to common men. It, however, as they used to say, the tomb had to be covered with gold plates, as had been done with the funeral urn which already held the remains of the Agwan Emperor, such heavy expenditure was not surprising."

Serrao, in his *Kashmir and Kafiristan*,¹ suggests the name of another European architect, viz., the French engineer, Anthe de Bourdoux, whom he tries to identify with Ustad Ali Khán.

These views are contradicted by Sir John Marshall² and E. B. Havell³ on grounds of fairly historical evidence and internal proofs of style.

Mr Arthur C. Pope, more trenchantly declared:—"The myth that the Taj Mahal was built by an Italian now belongs to the realm of bed-time stories."⁴

6. An idea of the wealth accumulated by the nobility may be had from the following account of Asaf Khán's property at the time of his death in 1644 A. D. It is, of course, not to be despised:

¹ Cf. Smith, *History of Fine Arts*, etc., pp. 153-54; 415-16.

² *Kashmir and Kafiristan*, I, p. 385.

³ *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1906-07), pp. 1-2.

⁴ *Indian Architecture*, pp. 25-6.

⁵ For a report of the controversy see *The Economist*, No. 11, pp. 159-65 (Saturday, 18th March, 1931); also *Manu-Gita*, *Shard*, *The Taj and its Environment*, pp. 14-22 (2nd ed., Agra, 1934).



THE MOSQUE, AGRA

that Akai Kōrin held a unique position as the Emperor, by the nature of his relationship with the Emperor. The *Sankashū-shūmō* states:

He had risen to a rank and dignity which no sovereign of the state had ever before attained. By the constant favour of the Emperor, his wealth was, first, bestowed personal and more than that, he was, at length, and at length, the pay of which amounted to seven *li* and twenty *tsū* of silver. When these had all received their pay, a sum of fifty *tsū* of silver was left for himself. . . . Besides the treasure which he had built in Lohara, and on which he expended twenty *tsū* of silver, he left money and valuables to the amount of two *li* and fifty *tsū* of silver. There were 30 *tsū* of silver in jewels, three *tsū* of articles equal to 21 *tsū* of silver, one *li* and 13 *tsū* in silver, 30 *tsū* in gold and silver vessels, and 13 *tsū* in miscellaneous articles.¹

This vast wealth, though to all appearances concentrated in the hands of the Emperor and the nobility, and spent on war and luxury, could not have been extracted from an indigent peasantry. The only events under Shōkō Jōshi were not reasons for the alleged oppression of the rulers, whether central or local, but the expression of the normal conditions of medieval nobility. The only exception to this was the outrageous conduct of the Portuguese at Nagai, whose oppressions and exactions drew upon themselves the right of imperial reprimand. But more than once observed how he sought fortune and security within the Empire, while he met with misery and risk to life in the European settlements. In one place he remarks, "Joan Antonio Portugal was executed at this affair (a just award, of money due to Masamune, by an impartial tribunal) and, in place of being sorry, sought means to take my life. If he did not succeed, it was because I did not remain in Goa, but returned to the Mogul Prince's service." "The fellows," he writes about the Portuguese, "glory in cheating foreigners without scruple." He found his personal liberty to do even humanitarian work for the poor and indigent in Portuguese than in Mogul India.²

Conditions, no doubt, were more unattractive in medieval times than now all the world over, and robberies on roads were not infrequent. But Shōkō Jōshi did all in his power to make travelling within the Empire as safe as could be. One of the measures he adopted

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 225-26.

2. A. Payne of *Mogul India*, pp. 223-24.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-25.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 225. See also pp. 224-25 and 228-29, for various other instances of oppression suffered by Masamune.

was to provide circumstances with proper equipments. 'For the use of wayfarers,' writes Minorski, 'there are throughout the interior of the Mogul or every route many caravans. They are like fortified places, with their bastions and strong gates; most of them are built of stone or of brick. In every one is an official whose duty it is to close the gates at the going down of the sun. After he has shut the gates he calls out that everyone must look after his belongings, pulled his horses by their reins and hind legs, above all that he must look out for dogs, for the dogs of Hindustan are very cunning and great thieves!

'At 5 o'clock in the morning, before opening the gates, the watchman gives these warnings to the travellers, crying at a loud voice that everyone must look after his own things. After these warnings, if any one suspects that any of his property is missing, the doors are not opened until the lost thing is found. By this means they make sure of having the thief, and he is strung up opposite the door. Thus the thieves when they hear a complaint or make drop the goods somewhere, so as not to be discovered.

'These caravans are only intended for travellers (strangers do not go into them). Each one of them might hold, more or less, from 500 to 1,000 persons with their horses, camels, carriages and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls, restaurants, with trees inside the courtyard, and every provision shops, also separate stables for the women and men who arrange the rooms and the beds for the travellers.'

The measures taken by Shih Jahan for the relief of the famine-stricken in the earlier part of his reign, when his treasury was not so full as later, are worthy of note. Writes Lalor: 'The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials in Burhānpur, Ahmadabad, and the country of Surat, to establish soup kitchens, or *shah-houses*, with as few called *hujras* in the language of Hindustani, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained at Burhānpur 5,000 *rupees* should be distributed among the deserving poor every *Misrday*, that day being distinguished above all others as the day of the Emperor's accession to the throne. Thus, on twenty *Misrdays* one *kar* of *rupees*

was given away in charity. Akbarshah had suffered more than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 rupees among the famine-stricken people. Want of rain and drought of grain had caused distress in many other countries (districts). So under the direction of the wise and generous Emperor least amounting to nearly 70 lacs of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eight lacs of *dams*, according to our present part of the whole revenue. When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the rulers who held *light* and *merciful*.”

Similar measures were adopted for relief of distressed paucity in Kashmir (1641) and the Punjab (1646) when there was famine on account of heavy rainfall. On the former occasion 50,000 people appeared to Shah Jahan for relief and he distributed among them Rs. 100,000, besides the provision of Rs. 200 worth of cooked food daily; and at the same time sent Rs. 50,000 to Tadhya Khan for further relief measures, and ordered the opening of five kitchens for the distribution of soup and bread in Kashmir. This officer having failed to manage the situation well, he was replaced by Zahir Khan, who was given a further grant of Rs. 50,000. In the Punjab, likewise, ten kitchens were opened and Salim Jai was commissioned to distribute Rs. 10,000 among the poor and destitute. “Sold children were recovered by the Government, and restored to their parents. In February 1647 Shah Jahan sanctioned another thirty thousand rupees for relief measures in the Punjab.”

In the face of this, Vincent Smith declares, while the people were dying of starvation “the camp of Shah Jahan at Budaunpur was filled with provisions of all kinds,” and “so far as Ministry was, nothing to help the suffering people was done by the Government.” With regard to the remission of taxes, above referred to, Smith denounces them with the freedom characteristic that “The facts do not justify the historical praise of the ‘pious indulgence and bounty’ of Shah Jahan. The remission of one-eleventh of the land revenue implies that attempts were made to collect *ten* elevenths, a burden which could not be borne by a country reduced to ‘the dire extremity,’ and exhibiting no trace of productivity.”

1. E. & B. no. 27, no. 254.
2. *Summary of Hist.*, pp. 255-56.
3. *ibid.*, p. 255.

At least two instances of the construction of canals to improve agricultural prosperity are on record. The *Badshah-nama* states:

- (1) 'Ab Manfir Khan represented to His Majesty that one of his intentions was to adapt to the farming of canals, and would undertake to construct a canal from the palace where the river Ravi descends from the hills into the plains, and to conduct the water to Lahore, benefiting the cultivation of the country through which it should pass. The Emperor... gave to the Khán one lot of copper, a sum of which rapidly estimated the expense, and the Khán then solicited an allowance to use of his trusted servants.' The canal even to this day bears witness.
- (2) 'The canal that Sirhan Firuz Sháh Khán, during the time he reigned at Delhi, had made to branch off from the river Jamna, in the vicinity of Jangana Khurkhid, whence he brought it in a channel to Imphur, for long to the confusion of Jangana Sahibán, which was his hunting-seat, and had only a scanty supply of water, had after the Sahibán's death, become in the course of time ruinous. While Sahibán's son Akbar Khán held the Government of Delhi during the reign of Emperor Akbar, he put it in repair and set it flowing again, with a view to furnish the place with his sight, and hence it was called Nahr-i-Sháh, but for want of repairs, however, it again stopped flowing. At the time when the *Shah-nama* was written, it was recommended that the abandoned canal from Khurkhid to Sahibán should be repaired and a new channel excavated from the latter spot to the royal residence, which also is a distance of 20 *kos* (approximately) long. After it was thus prolonged, it was designated the Nahr-i-Akbar.'¹

A further illustration of Sháh Jahán's benevolent intentions towards the peasantry is afforded by the same writer in the following statement:

- 'As it was represented that during the progress of the victorious march towards Kandahar (in 1649 A.D.) a great deal of the cultivation of Ghazni and its dependencies had been crushed under foot by the army, the imperial monarch, the character of his people despatched the sum of 5000 *gold mohurs*, in charge of a trusty individual, with directions to require into the last husbanded by the agriculturists, and to distribute it among them accordingly.'²

This account of the Golden Age of the Mughal Empire cannot be closed without at least a brief reference to the cultivation of fine arts. The construction of the Peacock Throne and the building of the Taj Mahal, both of which took years to execute and gave employ-

1. E. & D., pp. 66, pp. 67-8 and 68.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

3. The *Architecture of Akbar and Sháh Jahánan comparative study*, *Manchukü Chünghwa*, I, C., IV, 1, July 1920, pp. 125-126.

most to the great workmen from all parts of the country, not but the best known of numerous works of art produced in this epoch. We have not the space to dwell at length on all phases of the cultural life under Shih Jahin, but as Dr. Salomon, in his excellent study of the subject, has truly observed, "The prevailing peace in the country together with the personal interest of the sovereign gave a powerful impetus to the growth of art and literature. Poets, philosophers, scholars, artisans, all flocked to Court in search of patronage and talent was but rarely disappointed. The King was never slow to recognize merit and rewarded it generously. His example was followed by his courtiers, who vied with one another in extending their patronage to really capable men."¹

The *Ti Muai* at Fung Moque was built at Agra in seven years (1645-52) at a cost of Rs. 300,000. In the words of St. Nihil Singh it was "designed by a craftsman who possessed the skill to make stone suggest the struggle of the soul to soar above mundane entanglements. Built on a high plateau, with a spacious court of white marble, surrounded by a gallery and columns made of the same stone its white delicately shaped domes rise above the red, unblinking ramparts, powerfully conveying that idea."²

The *Ti Muai*, details of the construction of which have already been given, rises from the *Sansar Dar* or Jambun Tower in Agra Fort (whence Shih Jahin gazed at it for the last time from his prison window), reveals "the poorly marble set off against the green foliage of the garden and the deep blue of the Indian sky, a sight the charm of which is never forgotten by any one who has had the good fortune to behold it."

"Perhaps the most entrancing view is to be had on a tranquil night, when the full moon floats overhead lighting up the tower with an ethereal glow, and the mausoleum is mirrored in the calm surface of the *Jamuna*. The closer one examines the *Ti Muai* the more one admires it. The minutest detail has been carefully thought out and executed with flawless patience. In describing this

¹ Salomon, *op. cit.*, pp. 346-47.

² *India Old and New*, p. 75. Another writer has described it as "a piece of isolated stone, and observes: "There is something most solemn in the quiet expression of those desiccated arches, those white and blue perspectives, still in the light of the terrible perpendiculars.... The serenity of the Great temple has not that quality perturbed in beauty."

The *Mausoleum* is, in a mysterious and fearful sense, become blue and white." (T. F. Jacobson, *Through Life and Death*, pp. 226-7, cited by Edwards and Gurney, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-22.)

from the Quatre couts the tall doorways the artists have shown themselves such masters of perspective that the latest thirty feet or more above the line of the eye appear to lie exactly the same way as those a foot from the ground. The mosaic work is done with ivory, paper, tortoise, varnished, makelash, lapis lazuli, and other precious stones.¹

The Tōji still attracts tourists from all over the world and is perhaps the most admired museum ever built by man. Human expression fails to convey in words the delicate message of its exquisite beauty. It has sometimes been described as "A Dream in Marble" as "a summing up of many forms of beauty" "an ineffable art," *Shōin Mō Gakusei Seisaku*² that it fills the ancient Shōin Jōshin who made the Tōji. From the moment of the first conception of its idea in the beauty-haunted mind of the Great Mogul, the Tōji became the property of the world. . . . Shōin Jōshin, the Oriental despot, was in this a greater Socialist than the most radical of our reformers. He believed in the community of Art . . . *Shōin* the meaning message of the Tōji is still being unfolded.³

Shōin Jōshin's patronage was not confined to architecture alone, though one writer has observed: "Even if the entire mass of historical literature had perished, and only these buildings had remained to tell the story of Shōin Jōshin's reign, there is little doubt that it would have still been pronounced as the most magnificent in history."⁴ Such Poems and Hiss, prose and poetry, music, paintings⁵ and dance, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine, all flourished equally. There were both Hindu and Muslim writers, scholars, and artists. Translations of great Sanskrit works were also made. Besides those attributed to Shōin Jōshin may be mentioned the rendering into Persian of the *Prabodh Chandrodaya* by

1. *Ibid.*, p. 78. See "Indians and Muslim Poets from," *N. J. Chatterjee*, *J. U. P. B. S.*, Dec. 1937, and "The Development of Tomb Architecture under the Moghuls," *J. A. Quatre*, *J. A. H. B. I. L.*, 193, July-Oct. 1931, pp. 120-77.

2. *Shōin Mō Gakusei Seisaku*, pp. 24-5.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

4. "The works of Shōin Jōshin showed themselves to be largely influenced both by the old Hindu tradition and by study of European writers. . . . Many of the art were indeed high unimagined features of Hindu and traditions of Islam. Shōin were able to use with success a touch consisting of a single symbol's hair. The portraits of Shōin Jōshin's line, which are few, from the different countries in the preceding and succeeding ages, are remarkably similar and often perfectly charming." (*Ibid.*, *J. A. H. B. S.*, p. 121.)

Atsuhiko Furusaki Dōin and the *Kōshōkyō* by Ben Hui Karon, Mōri Perō Maruyama, the greatest astronomer of the period, prepared the actual chart entitled *Shō-e-Sakigashiki*, Atsuhiko wrote a treatise on Algebra, Mensuration and Arithmetic, and dedicated it to the Emperor and Dōkō, while Aburō Raschō translated *Jijō Genshi* from Sanskrit.

"The period of Shōhō Jōshō's reign," according to Dr. Schreier,¹ "partially coincided with what is described as the most brilliant epoch in the development of Heian literature and language. The Emperor could hardly remain aloof from its influence. He spoke Hindi, was fond of Hindi music, and patronized Hindi poets. The Hindi poets who were then connected with the court were Sōshō Dōin, Chūshōman, and Kōshōdōra Jōshōya." Shōhō Jōshō delighted in The Sōhō's son-in-law, Mōi Kōshō Genshi Sōshōya, singing the *Shō-pō* tune, which was the Emperor's favorite. Jōshōmōchi, the best Hindi musician of the age, "was exceedingly favoured by Shōhō Jōshō," and received from him the title *Mōshō Kōshō Jōshō*. Shōhō Jōshō was a master-player on the *shōhō* or guitar, and Shōhō Jōshō on the *shōhō* or guitar.²

In spite of all that has been said above, however, Shōhō Jōshō still remains a paradox in some respects. The entire details of his daily routine, of which we have contemporary evidence, show him to have been a man of strenuous activity and great self-command; but legend whispers many a tale of extreme self-indulgence verging on scandalous debauchery for which, however, there seems to be little foundation.³ His sense of honour and justice was great; yet, at times he was guilty of excessive cruelty; though this was a common trait of the age. He entertained many Hindus in his Court and service and was extremely tolerant towards Christians, as mentioned by Bernier; nevertheless, at times, he gave way to acts of intolerance, though sometimes not without provocation, as in the case of the Portuguese. But his destruction of Hindu temples is less intelligible. Says the author of the *Shōhōki*—

1. *Shōhō, Ō Jō*, p. 20.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 20. *Shōhō* "Shōhō and Kōshōdōra Sōshōya" at the Imperial Court by P. H. Smith in *Annals of the Shōhō Sōshōya*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Tokyo, Vol. 1, pt. 1, 18—based on the contemporary *Kōshōdōra Sōshōya* and Bernier's letter.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 228-29.

It had been brought to the notice of His Majesty that during the late reign many old temples had been begun, but remained unfinished at Benares, the great stronghold of idolatry. The orders were now despatched to complete them. His Majesty, the defender of the faith, gave orders that at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cut down. It was now reported from the province of Allahabad that some of our temples had been destroyed in the domain of Benares.¹

This was in 1633, now over three hundred years ago. It is further related that "Hindus were forbidden to dress in the Mahan style, to sell or drink wine openly or privately, to commit their dead or burn the same near Mahan graveyards; and to purchase Mahan slaves of war."² These and other acts of petty persecution indicated that there was already a setback in the tale of Banahim, so well begun by Akbar. Yet, Dala Valla refers to the prohibition of cow-slaughter in Candary, and Mauriceau to strict injunctions against slaying of animals in Hindu customs.³

Dryden's last best was the earnest of this glorious career!

'Oh! had he will that character maintained,
Of valour, which in blooming Youth he gain'd,
He promised us he had a glorious Fate
Now won from the Mandana, was a prize
But in the Sea, whom he from Nona declares,
And with adored heat less closely shines,
Seems to grow colder as he goes away
Flinging himself with the remains of Day:
So he who, in his Youth, for Glory strove
Would recompense his age with Ease and Love.'

Asking-Diris

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, 1.

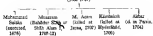
2. Sikaram, op. cit., pp. 284-85.

3. E. & D., p. 286. Land-Paul observes: "By 1620-1625 was the period in which the last temples were built (p. 147).

GENEALOGY

BRANCHES

(1888-1897)



AUTHORITIES*

A. FATHI - 1. *QUR'AN ARWAH*. (i) *Amal-i-Shih* of Mir-Ismatullah Khan contains the history of the War of Succession. It continues the story of the death of Shah Jahan but is considered more reliable in its earlier than in its later part. It is also interesting for its biographical notices of eminent men of the period. (Extracts in E. & O., op. cit., VII, pp. 143-52.)

(ii) *Alamgir-Nama* of Mirza Muhammad Khan was written (1682) by order of Aurangzeb, and is a courtly account of the first ten years of his reign. It is strange, however, that on its being shown to the Emperor, he forbade its continuation. "The Moghul Emperor professed as the cause of the prohibition that the cultivation of royal party was prejudicial to the ostentatious display of his achievements...It is strained, verbose, and tedious; ~~false~~ in its history, abusive in its censures" (Ibid., pp. 174-86.)

(iii) *Mu'ir-i Alamgir* of Mirza Asaf Khan, written after Aurangzeb's death, but based on State papers. It is comparatively very brief as it deals with the history of 81 years in only 540 pages. The *Alamgir-Nama* covering only 10 years contains 1157 pages. (Both, *Pilibothra Author Series*). The author undertook the work by desire of his patron, and finished it in 1710 A.D., only three years after the death of Aurangzeb. "He had been a constant follower of the Court for forty years, and an eye-witness of many of the transactions he records" (Ibid., pp. 181-91).

B. PERSIAN HISTORIES. (i) *Zafar Nama* (also called *Aurang-Nama*, *Pilibothra-Alamgir*, etc.) of Abul Khan Fani is a short history, beginning with the invasion of Bijapur (1686) and ending with the death of Mir Juma (1689). Prof. Barker observes, "The author

* On account of its complexity and vastness, as also from the wealth of material that is available for the reign of Aurangzeb, the compilation of a bibliography becomes particularly difficult. Hence only the most important and indispensable sources have been indicated here. "The attempt is made as epitome of the four generations of the illustrious emperors," observes Mirza Asaf, "in this trying to measure the span of the era [in a picture]; the affairs of the last forty years in particular are a boundless sea, which authors have shown been coasting to the limit of narrative."

writes with independence and in some cases reveals facts which could not have been pleasing to his master." (Copies at Simlaj.)

(a) *Furūh-i-Shah-Shajih* of Mir Muhammad Inayat (1661) ends abruptly on the eve of Shajih's flight, but "mentions many facts not to be found elsewhere and seemingly true. For Shajih's death he is our only authority and a very important one too. There is a striking agreement between him and Masud in many particulars, evidently the two used the same source of information" (Sarkar).

(b) *Musakhkhat-i-Lubāb* Muhammad Shāh of Muhammad Husain Khān is by far the most important. It is a complete history of the Mughal Emperors from Babur down to Muhammad Shāh (1719). The author's father was an officer under Aurangzeb. Khān Khān himself conducted an embassy to Bombay in 1684. "His reflective style, description of the condition of society, and characteristic anecdotes," writes Prof. Saitou, "are ~~the~~ free from the dry formality of the Court annals, and he is specially informing with regard to Deccan affairs."

This work is also frequently referred to as *Furūh-i-Khān Khān Khān* (misused); it is supposed by some to have been the title freely conferred by Muhammad Shāh upon the writer, Muhammad Husain Khān, for his having concealed his valuable work for a long time (owing to Aurangzeb's ban on histories). Others derive the word from *Khān*, a district of Khurasan, near Nishapur. The historian was made *Shaykh* by Miran-i Shāh in the reign of Feroz Shah (Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 297-331.)

There are also two valuable Persian histories written by contemporary Hindus: (1) *Narikh-i-Dabih* by Khawan Burhanpur; (2) *Fatah-i-Alamgiri* by Khawāda Nagar of Pitha (Gujarat). Both were in Imperial service. The former is important for affairs in the Deccan, the latter for Rajasthan.

3. *Monographs, State Papers, etc.* (i) *Alam-i-Alamgiri* or *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb—q.* by J. N. Sarkar.

(a) *Ma'atral-usara* or the biographical dictionary of the Mughal peevage is also a work of peculiar interest and value. It was begun about 1742 and completed in 1779. It was compiled by several writers from ~~various~~ authoritative historians, official accounts, letters, etc. "Its chief value lies in the many characteristic anecdotes it mentions and the light it throws on the manners of the age" (Sarkar; E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 187-91).

(iii) For other authorities, particularly Aurangzeb's letters (more than a thousand in Sir J. N. Sarkar's possession alone) *Journals*, Court business, etc., see Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. I, pp. xviii-; vol. II, pp. 304-37; vol. III, pp. 441-48. Also see E. & D., op. cit. VII, pp. 186-200, V. A. Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 451-52.

(iv) "Imperial Mughal Families in Gujarat," M. S. Commission (*Journal of the University of Bombay*, July 1942).

(v) "MS. copy of the Dabih of Durr Sultan," Zahir Khān, J. R. A. S. Bengal, V, 1, 1939.

4. *European Accounts.* Of the European travellers, Bernier, Tavernier, and Maucart have already been noticed in the previous chapter. The following critical observations of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar on the extent of their reliability, however, are worthy of attention :—

"Their works are of undoubted value as throwing light on the condition of the people, the state of trade and industry, and the history of the Christian churches in India. Moreover, the efficiency of Indian institutions by foreign observers has a freshness and weight all its own. But of the political history of India, apart from the few events in which they took part or which they personally witnessed, their report mainly reproduced the local rumours and the stories current among the peasantry, and cannot be set against the evidence of contemporary histories and letters in Persian. From their position these foreign travellers had no access to the best sources of information, the State archives were closed to them. They missed the nucleus of Indian history only occasionally and as supplements for foreigners; hence they could not derive the real information which only familiar intercourse with the highest personages in camp and Court could have given them. Finally, their imperfect knowledge of history prevented them from using the written records of the time and checking the reports they had received orally." (*History of Aurangzeb*, I, pp. 22-4.) For the principal European authorities see Lane-Poole, *Aurangzeb*. In addition to Bernier, Tavernier, and Maucart, he mentions the following :—

(a) Dr. Feyer's *New Account of Delhi* chiefly useful for the Maratha power under Shivaji. The author was in S. India 1672-81.

(b) Ormeau's *Voyage to Surat*—visited only Bombay and Surat (1675-81).

(4) *Hedges' Diary* (Yule's ed.)—for Mughal provincial administration in 1622-4

(5) Dr. Gerardo Careri's account of Aurangzeb's camp in the Desert in 1695—'throws light on an obscure portion of the reign.'

B. *Secondary Sources*: (i) Ouse, *Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire* (London, 1752)

(ii) N. Ephraïmson, *History of India*, pp. 603-75. Smith writes: "Ephraïmson knew the Marathi country and people so intimately that his narrative stands as a primary authority for some purposes."

(iii) S. Lane-Poole, *Aurangzeb*, (*Emperors of India*, O. U. P., 1903). On the whole this is the most readable short account of the reign of Aurangzeb.

(iv) J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, 5 vols. (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1912-50) is a monumental work based on various original sources, not to be easily surpassed. An abridged ed. of this entitled *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, is also available (1933).

(v) Zafaruddin Parni, *Aurangzeb and his Times* (Taraporewala, Bombay 1935).

(vi) J. N. Sarkar, *Shahjahan in Mughal India*, pp. 32-348.

(vii) " " *Mughal Administration*.

(viii) W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (Macmillan, London, 1929).

(ix) A. Buhārshīn, *The Life of a Mughal Princess* (Routledge, London, 1931).

C. *Specialised Sources*: I. *Sikh History*—(i) *History of the Sikhs, Hari Ram Gupta*, 3 vols., also *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab: 1700-60* by the same author. (Lahore 1944)

(ii) Cunningham, J. D., *A History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed. Calcutta (1911)

(iii) McGowan, W. L., *The History of the Sikhs* (London, 1848.)

(iv) Phayer, C. H., *A Short History of the Sikhs*. (Milton)

II. *Rajput History*—Tod, J., *The Annals and Antiquities of Ajmer* (2 vols, Calcutta, 1808-9)

III. *Maratha History*—(i) Sarkar, J. N., *Shivaji and His Times*.

(ii) Sen B. N., *Military System of the Marathas* (Calcutta); *Foreign Geography of Shivaji* (Calcutta, 1927).

Administrative system of the Marathas (Calcutta, 1925).

(iii) Panikkar, H. G., *Sketchs of the Marathas* (Oxford, 1915).

(iv) Vaidya, C. V., *Siddhi, the Founder of Maratha Society* (Poona, 1931).

(v) Karmad and Phansa, *History of the Maratha People*. (2 vols. Oxford, 1914-22).

(vi) Blunt, M. G., *Rise of the Maratha Power* (Bombay, 1900).

(vii) Deshpande, G. K., *The Deliverance or the Escape of Shivaji the Great from Agra*. (H. I. S. M., Poona 1929).

(viii) Bendrey, V. S., *Gadchadwadi Katsakhia in Marathi with valuable appendices in English* (Mumbai Prakashan Samiti, Poona 1934).

(ix) Sharma, S. N., *Maratha History Re-examined* (1595-1707) throws fresh light on many important points (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944).

IV. *Annals*—(i) "Purna Akhar and the Portuguese." *S. Panchajanya* (Bengal, Past and Present, April-June 1923).

(ii) "The Mission of G. Wotton and Abraham Massey to the Court of Aurangzeb," H. Das (J. A., April and May 1925).

(iii) "Rustam Minsh," H. Das (J. A., June & July 1925).

(iv) "Mishk Ambar—a new life," J. M. Surani (J. H. Q. IX, 2 & 3).

(v) "P. Palmet in India," *Moslem* (J. A. LXII, Aug.-Oct. 1933).

(vi) "Religious Policy of Aurangzeb," Sri R. Sharma, (J. H. Q. XII, 2 & 3, 1936).

(vii) "An Anomalous Source of Mughal History"—(*The Padshah Bazar*) (J. Asian R. Soc. IV, April 1935).

(viii) "The Memorandum of Aurangzeb's Regent," S. K. Banerji (J. C. P. H. S., XVI, I, July 1945).

(ix) "A Chapter in the History of Sikh Militancy," C. A. Banerji, J. I. H., XXIII, 2, (Dec. 1944) pp. 382-84.

(x) A short History of the Origin and Rise of the Sikhs (*Nabhat-i-Bidai aur 'Uzwa-i-Fateh-i-Sikhia*) by with introd. and Notes by Ishwarsingh Banerji. Calcutta, 1943. (ed. of J. H. Q., XVIII, 1, March 1943).

(xi) "Court Dharma during the Mughal Period"; "Aurangzeb and his Policy,"—J. A. H. R., 1, vol. I, 1 & 2, pp. 39-45; pp. 102-120.

CHAPTER IX

POST-HUMOROUS OF THE EMPIRE

"The history of Aurangzeb is practically the history of India for nearly four centuries. Under him the Moghul empire reached its greatest extent, and the largest single State ever known in India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power was formed."

[JACOBSON BARON]

"Aurangzeb's life had been a vast failure, indeed, but he had failed grandly."

[STANLEY LANE-POOLE]

It is indeed difficult to say how long exactly the sun shone brightest after he had reached the zenith; but it is common experience that the mid-day glow continues for quite a length of time before one is aware that afternoon has come and sunset must follow soon. So it was with the Moghul Empire at the end of Shah Jahan's reign. The Golden Age was not yet quite past, but the long rule of Aurangzeb (1657-1707) saw its twilight, and the death of the last of the Great Moghuls began to show the area of its core. Indeed, to vary the metaphor, the glided world did seem to fold, and all that had glistered was not gold. The fifty years of Aurangzeb's Imperial sway saw what one recent writer has aptly described as "the turn of the tide."

Aurangzeb as Prince had shown great promise both as an administrator and as a general. On the throne he sat for quite as long a period as his great-grand-father Akbar. The half-century of rule in each case was full of moment activity; and of the two, Aurangzeb had certainly the better start in life. Akbar was a weak child when he succeeded to his father's precarious legacy; his resources were scanty, his troubles great and many. Not so with Aurangzeb: his age was forty at the time of his accession. His dominion was vast, his wealth great, and his army better equipped and larger. Internally the Empire was at peace, and the machinery of Government at work during three generations. Still did Aurangzeb fail. The key to this failure is his character. Once more we find the all-important experience: the fortunes of the Empire turning on the pivot of the Emperor's personality. Aurangzeb was an ambi-

With this year began his regular education, chiefly, among others, under Mr. Muhammad Hameed of Ghazni. He soon familiarised himself with the Quetta and the Pushtu, and became an adept at the writing of the *shikhar band*. 'His marvellous and abundant style of writing won the admiration.' Though he had a dislike for poetry, the delicate variety was not rejected by him. His aversion to music, painting, and the fine arts has been made memorable in the famous anecdote of the funeral of *Amir*: the survivors in the carriage being asked by *Amir* to bury her (the *Amir*) deep, but she should not again! These profound traits of the later Emperor had their beginning in the early life and training of the young prince.

Another incident of *Amir*'s boyhood also indicated the promise of the cool courage and philosophical bent which were so characteristic of his character. In May 1829 the Prince was watching an elephant fight when one of the infuriated animals rushed at him. But the dauntless stripling of less than three summers never bled an inch. On the contrary he wounded the elephant with his spear and evaded the administration of all pains. When *Shah Jahan* died him over his mistress, he only remarked: "If the fight had ended fatally for me it would not have been a matter of shame. Death drops the pearls even on the Emperor, if it be *Shahanshah*!"

On 11th December 1834 *Amir* first set his foot on the official ladder when he was made commander of Ten Thousand Horse. Next

September he was sent to suppress the *Bandala*

First *Yung* of rebellion, at the head of three armies. The name of the *Ladakh*.

of that expedition again typified the character of the supreme commander: the survivors of the *prairie* were dragged to the *Mughal* *harren*; two sons and one grandson of *Jahar* were converted to *Islam*; another son and minister of the *Raja*, having refused to apostatise, were executed in cold blood. "The lofty temple of *Raj Singh* at *Unikka* was demolished and a mosque was erected on its site. The fort of *Unikka* was taken (and in October) and the spoils of war, including the heated treasure of *Raj Singh*, amounted to one *lakh* of *Rupay*."

The next step of *Amir*'s career was nothing short of the viceroyalty of the *Dacca* to which he was appointed in 1836. The city of *Amirabad*, which was named after him, was made the viceregal

capital. The conquest of *Udipi*, *Assam*, *Burman* etc., and the subjugation of the *Intergal* *Muslim* *governor* *Saffar* and *Mahdi* *Khanda* were effected during this period, 1835-41.

In this last year (1840) *Amir* was called to *Agia* by the claims of his mother *Jahannum*. Within these weeks of this he was deprived of his southern viceroyalty, rank and appointments, it is said, owing to *Shah's* persistent hostility to him. However, by the intercession of *Jahannum* he was appointed *viceroy* of *Gujarat*, 18 February, 1840. From here he was reinstated in the command of the *British* expedition in 1847. Within

the short period of two years in Ceylon, Ancegaon had shown sufficient administrative capacity and fitness.

Though Kothli had to be removed to Nader Muhammad it was during this campaign that Ancegaon distinguished himself by his cool and steadfast death, leading his poster in the midst of a raging battle. The enemy in previous administrations stopped fighting and withdrew: "To fight with such a man is to court one's own ruin." Nevertheless, "the war cost the Indian treasury four lakhs of rupees, while not an inch of territory was gained on the result of it."

From March 1848 to July 1850 Ancegaon was Governor of Madras and North, during which period also he was called upon to besiege Kandahar twice (1849 and 1851), with no better success, however, than in Delhi. But the failure was due to no fault of the commander! The building of a new fort in place of the old Thatta was a sample of Ancegaon's personal activities.

Ancegaon was again sent to the Deccan (1852). Spending nine months, which are unique in the position's life at Bhatnagar he reached Ancegaon in November, 1853. The province had not prospered during his absence since the successive of incompetent viceroys had worked its ruin. Now, thanks to the efforts of Ancegaon and his revenue minister, Muzibul Kafi Khan, the province were thus returned to lost prosperity. The efficiency of both the administration and the army was improved by the dismissal of incompetent men, the inspection and supply of re-

sources of incompetent viceroys had worked its ruin. Now, thanks to the efforts of Ancegaon and his revenue minister, Muzibul Kafi Khan, the province were thus returned to lost prosperity. The efficiency of both the administration and the army was improved by the dismissal of incompetent men, the inspection and supply of re-

1. Ibid., p. 20.

2. Muzib Khan was no doubt angry with Ancegaon for what he supposed to prove the latter's incapacity. "But in truth," as Saday points out, "it is unjust to blame Ancegaon for the failure to take Kandahar. Throughout the siege he was really second in command. The Emperor's son Kabul directed every movement through Muzibul Khan. His position had to be taken for every important step. Ancegaon's best justification was afforded next year, when a still viceroy and cordial co-operation against Candahar led by Muzib Khan that was an even more humiliating defeat."—Ibid., p. 24.

3. Ancegaon's love affairs with Muzib Khan (also called Zainab) led to a quarrel in his personal life. The woman's people were minded still, and contrary to Ancegaon's wish, she was the heiress of the only woman in the palace. Ancegaon's life. She was a daughter of the king of Muzib Khan who had married a widow of Ancegaon's mother. The result of her meddling changed a widow of Ancegaon's mother. Ancegaon's heart is a wound: "with desperate impetuosity he took her away from his own's house and leaving utterly unattended by her, he went on, that one day she offered him a cup of wine... and the helpless liver was about to taste the forbidden drink, when the sky suddenly flashed away the cup from her hand and fell. My blood was only to last year two last was, and not to make this fall into the lap of death." Death was the very short when she was still in the lap of death. Ancegaon bitterly grieved at her loss and buried her dead in the big tomb at Ancegaon. —Ibid., pp. 14-15; also see Saday, *Ancegaon of Ancegaon*, pp. 11-12.

quinta stone and emeralds, and the redeployment of proper taxation, etc. At the same time an annual salary of Rs. 50,000 got also effected. The conquest of Calcutta was pushed on with Shih Jiahn ordered application and consent (April, 1803). The services of the capable little Jiahn were selected for the Emperor for sending him Prince Minkien on the death of Ghalibah Khia. Next year (1807) Bopper was readily invested. But the agents of Bopper were busy at the Imperial capital so at the request of Amangzeb's mother, Shih Jiahn accepted the terms of Ahi Shih: Baku, Kuyuk, and Farside were to be ceded together with the payment of a war indemnity of one lakh of rupees.

Thus both Calcutta and Bopper were saved from complete annexation owing to Shih Jiahn's timely overtures over the head of the Decree Viceroy. The noble nation wore, his blood in September 1807 plunged the Empire in civil war.

Shih Shiah, the late pretensions, had from his father's favour all these years. It was owing to his influence over the Emperor that Amangzeb had been rather badly treated, at least as the latter believed. His religious predilection only showed Amangzeb who was desirous of becoming the Defender of the Faith. His frequent taxation, disparagement, and interference by his father irritated Amangzeb beyond all patience. His numerous palace wars and more pointed to his eldest brother as the source of all mischief, present and potential. Tidings reaching Shih Shiah over all news from the capital, during Shih Jiahn's illness, made matters worse. Rumours of all variety crept through the ragged streets. The jealous brothers only saw in this Earl's sinister motives: to usurp the throne, to supplant, or possibly murder the Emperor! What then of the fate of his distant brother? What above all, Amangzeb must have thought, of the fate of Jihun in India?

Should not the example by poisoning himself Kopyer, or Gaurat, under the title of *Manmukh-din* (15th December). He was all heart and fire. But Amangzeb was caution itself. They contacted many plots together and finally by the beginning of 1808 set their hands to motion.

Meanwhile Amangzeb's diplomacy had already begun to work. In 1806 he quitted the Decree he took due precautions to pacify both Ghalibah and Bopper. He urged, no doubt, Koth Shih to pay up his arrears

Amangzeb's emotion at this time is reflected in the words put into his mouth by Dwyer in his tragedy, *Amang-Jah*. To Induram, his faithful confidant! he says:

'Love, courage, and will about my starry head,
Lifted that's borne by a treacherous word.
Oh I could, with you, with eager haste!
Demand your spurs, with hungry taste!
Shall we not, for you, wonder your swift feet,
Daring with plumed, watch you to my heart?
Then hold you, all, and gaze! Then, with new rage,
I would you, till my conscious limbs renewed!
So long, so short, so I had then could have!"

of unknowns, but at the same time he ordered the Magdal army at Galdak to be on notice that might require Magdal assistance. To add still he offered a bet to keep Sikkim steady: "Sikkim loyal and keep your possession," he wrote. "I agree that (1) the bet of Paranto and its dependent territory, the Khikon, and the whole of Wangi, which have been assigned to the Sikkim, together with that portion of the Karmayak which had been granted to the late Jang Neph, should be left to you as before, and (2) out of your possessed possessions of one-fourth of Sikkim, thirty hills are allotted. Protect this country, improve its administration. Elpel Sikkim who has creaked into the possession of some parts of the land. Do you send me at least 10,000 cavalry. I shall grant you all the territory up to the back of the Sikkim."

Kappaah was also actively arranging, though with almost secrecy, to enlist the protection of the Sikkim in his side, they on their side knew how to secure their own interests, for it was well known that Kappaah was by far the most experienced and capable among the leaders.

Now Kappaah triumphed in the War of Succession that thus started has already been told in some detail. Nor need the successful tale of the fate of the defeated brothers be repeated here again. Suffice pronounced Kappaah's diplomatic and military ability.

"Kappaah's a valiant man to singly sway,
The army dull-gut shies before his way,
Deep from above he lightens over a gale,
Grows a pace with that he sits upon;
Heavenly dooms, a law, ingenious, righted down,
But who by force a master does obtain,
Shows he can govern that, which he could give,
Right none of more, what's he was before,
Murder and corruption are no more."

II. FRONTIER WARS

The principal wars of Kappaah's reign were waged to suppress the Hindu reaction to his oppressive religious policy. Apart from these there were also the political wars of conquest directed towards extension of territory. The frontier wars, in the northwest and the north-east, were more or less of a positive character.

Ever since the year of 1600 there had been no treaty at the north-east of the Sikkim. But the sufficiency of British Nepal administration and the opportunity afforded by the Succession War encouraged the Sikhs to renew their independent move. In 1820 Poon Madoke, the ruler of Wash-Nepal, sent an army into Magdal territory, ostensibly in pursuit of a medicinal vessel. Poon, poor Galdak, the capital of Kappaah, was ~~Galdak~~ occupied by the Sikhs. But not until the end of the Civil war, in 1860, could the

Moghals do anything to restore their position in this quarter. In that year Mir Jauhi, the respectable lieutenant of Asutgaon, was appointed Governor of Bengal, and ordered to "punish lawless marauders of the province especially those of Assam and Milla (Arunachal)".¹

On 10 November, 1661, Mir Jauhi started on his post-campaign *Agar Gana*.² His army consisted of 12,000 horse and 20,000 foot, besides a body of over 200 war elephants. In ten days' time the capital of North-Bihar was taken and rechristened Aligra-nagar, a mosque was built over its desecrated temple, and the entire kingdom was annexed. Other vassal states followed: the army's fleet of 300 vessels was raised, and Javedpur, Raja of Cuttack, was expelled. The spoils taken were enormous—55 elephants, 5 lakhs of rupees in cash, 475 pieces of artillery, 1244 muskets, 1700 bows, 6700 matchlocks, 340 muskets of gun powder, a thousand and odd boats, and 170 thousand of petty, each containing from 10 to 1,000 muskets of gold.³

But the outbreak of an epidemic of fever and flu, in August, carried away vast numbers of both the people and the army. In one Mughal corps alone out of 1,000 troops under Durr Khan, only 400 were left. In the whole of Assam no less than 200,000 people succumbed to the malarial fever in a single year.⁴ In the Mughal camp no suitable diet or comfort was available for the sick; all had to live on coarse rice, no wheat or pulses, no ghee, no sugar, and no opium or tobacco except a little at intervals.⁵ A piece of tobacco sold at Rs. 3, a tube of opium at a gold mohur, a tub of musk-dal at Rs. 10, and salt also at the same rate as the last. The Hindustani and Turki soldiers languished for want of wheaten bread, the horses perished from eating rice.⁶

In all these trials and sufferings Mir Jauhi retained his equanimity and lived and ate like any common soldier. When the rains came, he resumed the offensive, but he was not allowed to complete his conquest. He was seized with phurby and fever which soon became very violent. So a treaty was signed with the Ahom king, through the mediation of Durr Khan, in December 1661. According to KHAN KHAN, the Raja "agreed to pay 200,000 talas of silver, and 1,000 talas of gold, and to present fifty elephants and one of his wife daughters to the Emperor. He also agreed to present fifteen elephants and another daughter to Khan-Khanan, together with some cash and goods." It was further agreed that of the conquered places a few forts and towns in subverted districts near the frontier of Bengal should be attached to the Imperial dominions.⁷

Mir Jauhi died at Aligra, on the frontier of Kachharia, on the 15th Rabiya, at the beginning of the sixth year of the reign of Asutgaon's

¹ Ibid. p. 134.

² The most powerful of these, called *ghurabs*, weighed 24 pms and 20 lbs each, and were valued by the Assam or long nose-tribe

³ Ibid. p. 135.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 135-6.

⁵ E. & J. D., op. cit., p. 136. For further details see Sehnai, op. cit.

1928, p. 10.

(11th March, 1835). "No other general of that age," observes Sadler in his gallantest moments "conducted war with so much humanity and justice, nor kept his soldiers, garrisons and captives alike, under such discipline; no other general could have retained to the last the confidence and even affection of his subordinates amidst such appalling sufferings and dangers. The error of 50 parrots of diamonds, treasury of the State province of Bengal, he shared with the meanest soldier the privations of the march and brought premature death on himself by seeking delights and living laborious days. He issued strict orders forbidding plunder, rape and oppression on the people, and saw to it that his orders were obeyed. The mere punishment which he meted out to the first few offenders had a salutary effect. We render Mr. Jervis's peculiar merit here more clearly by contrast with others. With a hero like Mr. Jervis, chance of the fortune of India seems to be exaggerated; his policy of the present is not distant history but heritage descended to a born king of men."¹

Speaking of his campaign Foul. Bhatnagarya writes: "It was the most daring and audacious piece of superhuman venture, almost unparalleled in the annals of Mughal India, and has not probably been surpassed even in modern times."²

Despite these glorious exploits, however, the Mughals lost India at the close of the past four years. Under the ablest of Chakravartys, who succeeded the throne in November 1658, ~~or~~ ^{the} Akbars reconquered their possessions. Gadhari fell in November 1667; and all the efforts of the Mughals to recover it proved vain. Thus the Akbars fell on evil days, Akbars having become prey to civil war. During the eleven years, 1670-81, seven kings sat on its throne, and not one of them died a natural death. The Mughals profited by this, and "took advantage of it to extend their sway over northern and eastern portions of the kingdom, recovering much of the present districts of Bangor and Western Kandy, and forcing the Sikhs in 1711 to confirm these gains by treaty."³

The Pashas of the north-western frontier have ever been a perpetual source of irritation to all Indian governments. They have always been independent, but hardly ever united. This dubious heritage of theirs has been our advantage as well as disadvantage. Like morning clouds sometimes they have gathered thick and poured into the plains of the Punjab; but when they have found themselves confined by the strong walls of fortified places. A strong government at Delhi has always rated us them as the flies of the summer sun.

In the beginning of 1667 was one such season of storm and stress. The Yousafis under a great leader named Shajao had assumed longship and crossed the river Indus, above Ajmer, ~~where~~ ^{where} force of 5,000 horse-

1. F. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21.

2. *Mughal N. E. Frontier Policy*, p. 385.

3. *Narber*, *loc. cit.*, p. 122.

blamed by Mirza Asaf Khan, a man in steady opposition. They were soon followed by other bands of marauders who spread over Peshawar and Attock districts the ravages of pastoralist incursions. But the Emperor took strong measures, and by October 1607 they reached near with heavy losses. Muhammad Amin Khan, son of Mir Jamsi, succeeded in quelling the Marats for a period of five years.

2. The next turn was that of the Afghans. In 1612 they rose under their tribal chief Asaf Khan, "a born general, who covered himself long, thankless work in his own name, and profiting was against the Moghals. converted all the Pathan clans to join the national movement, and closed the Khushal Pasha."¹

Muhammad Amin Khan was still in charge of Afghanistan, associated with past success, failed to apprehend the turn of the present ruling. The result was the oft repeated tale of disaster. "Ten thousand men fell under the enemy's sword in the field, and above two lakhs of Rupees in cash and kind was looted by the enemy. They captured twenty thousand men and women and sent them to Carah-i Sam for sale." Even the family of Mir Asaf Khan was captured and had to be ransomed at a very heavy price. This victory kind the imagination of the Indian who now began to look around the standard of Asaf Khan. The post-~~colonial~~ of the Khanda, Khushal Khan, also joined the rebels, inspiring them "with his gaze no less than his sword."

"The danger to the empire was very great: the rising was a national one, affecting the whole Pathan land 'from Kandahar to Attock' and its leaders were also men who had served in the Moghal army in Hindustan and the Deccan, and knew the organisation, efficiency and tactics of the empire."² But Asaf Khan was not the man to be moved or buffed by such a danger. Mir Asaf Khan was at once replaced by the more experienced Mirza Khan. In the middle of November, 1612, Asaf Khan and Mirza Jamsi Singh were also sent with reinforcements. Though the want of co-operation among these generals led to another disaster in 1614, Moghal prestige was soon vindicated. Asaf Khan himself proceeded to Hasan Abdal (between Rawal Pindi and Peshawar), in June 1614, and for a year and a half personally directed the operations. After much fighting, with constant increase in veterans, the Imperial forces finally emerged triumphant.

The result was as much due to diplomacy and intrigue, as to force and military tactics. "Many clans were won over by the grant of private persons, Mirza, and peace in the Moghal army to their leaders."³ With the appointment of Asaf Khan in March 1617, as Viceroy of Kabul, a period of peace and prosperity followed. This side offers you a new

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 400.

2. Ibid., p. 542; cf. of Modern edition of 1618.

3. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 144. The part played by our Asaf Khan in the suppression of the Afghan was of such political character that his name was invoked by Afghan authors to frighten children for years afterwards.

reign of All Aurangzeb Khán, and was ably assisted in his administration by his wife, Sháhí, who was a woman of great energy, tact, and even courage. Aurangzeb's policy of "breaking two horses by hooking them together" (i.e., setting class against class and creating hatred) was most noted. The financial success of Aurangzeb's regime is indicated for a glimpse of his by Aurangzeb, dated 25th October, 1681, wherein he states "Six lakhs of Rupees were allotted by Government to be paid to the Afghans for guarding the coast. I have spent one and half lakhs and saved the remainder to the state."

Still the Khánzadas continued to fight, and made the employment of Afghans against the Empire impossible; on the contrary they diverted much of the military force from the South to their own repression, and thus allowed Sháhí competitive freedom to attain the climax of his career (1679-1707).¹

III. NORTH INDIA

"The reign of Aurangzeb," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar,² "is naturally divided into two equal parts of about 25 years each, the first of which he passed in Northern India, and the second in the Deccan." During the earlier of these two periods the centre of effort for him was in the North, not because the Emperor lived there, but because the most important developments, civil and military, occurred there, while the South figured as a far off and negligible factor. In the second half of the reign the situation is reversed: all these resources of the empire are concentrated in the Deccan; the Emperor, his court and family, the bulk of the army, and all his best officers live there for a quarter century, and Hindustan sinks back to a place of secondary importance.³

Apart from the two frontiers were steadily described, the disturbances in North India were of two classes: (a) revolts against Aurangzeb's religious policy, (b) minor disorders created by pretenders, ambitious chieftains, or parties. The latter may be disposed of with brief notice before proceeding to the former.

Throughout the reign a series of pretenders caused some temporary excitement in different parts of the Empire. There were: a false Durr in Gujarat (1682), a false Sháh in Míráz (west of Kach-Nihar, 1691), another among the Yamas (1674); a third in Kashmir (1707), a bogus son of ~~Sháh~~ Shahjahan in Ahsanabad (1699), and a counter-claimant Akbar in the Deccan (1699).

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-7.
2. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

The principal chieftains of Rajas to resist the movement of armies were (1) Rao Karna of Bilaspur, who submitted towards the close of 1666; (2) Chaugat Raj Ransela (a collateral descendant of Bir Singh Dev), who after considerable fighting committed suicide together with his Raja Kila Kandi, rather than submit to the Moghul (1661)¹; (3) the Chero Raja of Palawan, whose kingdom was annexed to the Satrap of Bihar, (1661); (4) the rebel prince of Mewar, who was forced into submission in (1664), and again in 1676; and (5) Raja Bahadur Chand of Karonan, who after a protracted struggle (1668-1673) also submitted. The Buddhist ruler of Tibet too acknowledged Moghul suzerainty in 1668, as the result of an expedition led from Kashmir. The pages of Chaugat will be dealt with later in the section on Europeans. We now turn to the principal disturbances in North India which were due to Aurangzeb's warden attacks on the Hindus.

PERSECUTION OF HINDUS

The religious policy of Aurangzeb and his attitude towards non-Muslims in general, together with a discussion of all its implications, will be taken up in the end of this chapter. The persecution of the Hindus was the most conspicuous feature of Aurangzeb's reign. But for it, in spite of his persecution, his regime might have been one of the most glorious instead of being the most odious and fatal. [Despite the fact that Aurangzeb had in him ready to crush Hindu piety as Muslim, he turned out to be a bitter hater of the Hindus.] His grandmother (Shah Jahan's mother) was a Hindu. Shah Jahan's father was only half Muslim, marriage as his mother too was a Hindu. One of Aurangzeb's own principal queens (Nasib Bai, the mother of his successor Bahadur Shah) was also a Hindu, being the daughter of the Rajput Raja, Raja, of the Rajput State in Kashmir. So too was Aurangzeb's favourite Mumtaz with whom he lay head over heels as long as Delhi, during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. Of his other wives, one was a Persian (Dina Begum Begum), daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan, a scion of the ruling house of Persia—the champion of the Shi'ite sect, another (Udipi Mahal, the mother of Alam Bahadur) was according to the contemporary Venetian traveller Minucci, a Georgian though captured from Dina Shah's harem. What a

1 Raja Chaugat Sai Ransela, was the son of their parents

long list of embarrassing contacts.¹ But Aurangzeb's intolerance was certainly not born in the desert, as Akbar's scepticism is supposed to have been, by some writers.

That this inept policy was not fatal, as in the case of Shah Jahan's destruction of temples, but deliberate and consistently systematic, will be borne out by the following collection of facts:—

1. Wholesale destruction of Hindu temples
2. Re-imposition of the hated *Jizya*.
3. Eviction of frontier customs duties from Hindus
4. Debarment of Hindus from Imperial service
5. Prohibition against the free exercise of their religious rites—*Hek and Doodh*.
6. Prohibition of Hindu fairs.
7. Prohibition of wearing arms, fine dresses, and riding by Hindus.
8. Proscription of Hindu learning.

"Aurangzeb began his attack on Hindutva," observes Prof. Sankar, "in an insidious way."² He followed

Destruction of at first only to prohibit the building of new temples by the rulers.³

Early in his reign local officers in every town and village in Orissa, from Cuttack to Medinipur, were asked to pull down all temples, great and small, built during the last ten or twelve years and to allow no old temples to be repaired.⁴ The final step in this direction was the general

1. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

2. This is contained by the *Banaras Journal* of Aurangzeb, addressed to Akbar House, dated February 28, 1655, granted through the mediation of Prince Salim Muhammad Sultan. It reads:—

"It has been decided according to our Canon Law that idolatrous temples should not be demolished, but no new temple allowed to be built. . . . Intemperance has reached us. . . . Count that certain persons have defiled the Hindu temples in Banaras and its environs and certain Brahmins who have the right of holding charge of the ancient temples there and that they have done so to remove these Brahmins from their sacred office. Therefore, our royal command is that you should direct that no future no person shall in insidious ways interfere with or disturb the Brahmins and other Hindus residing in these places."

(Cited by Sankar, *Aurangzeb*, III, pp. 119-121)

3. Order issued on all temples of Chitaval, and officers (*Muzammas*), agents of *Jajpore*, *Brach*, and *cuttack*.—

"Every Mahomedan built during the last three or four years, whether with brick or clay, should be demolished without delay. Also, do not allow the current Hindus and illegitimate subjects to repair their old mosques. Report of the destruction of temples should be sent to the Court under the seal of the place and attested by pious Sharifs" (*Ibid.*)

order issued in April, 1803. 'On the 17th Zi-I Safa, 1203, it reached the ear of His Majesty, the Protector of the Faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan, and Benares, but especially in the latter, foolish Hindoos were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in *Na'w* schools, and that students and learners, Musulmans as well as Hindus, went there, even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. The Director of the Faith consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and preaching of idolatrous forms of worship.'¹

Aurangzeb's unorthodox zeal appears to have been conceived very early in his life. In 1645, while he was Governor of Gujarat, he converted the temple of Chaturman into a mosque and named it *Qasab-ul-Jahin*. He also ordered a cow to be slaughtered in the street. But the building was restored to the Hindus by order of Shah Jahan. However, when Aurangzeb came to power, he issued a *fardin* (dated November 29, 1658) to the following effect:—

'In Ahmadabad and other parganas of Gujarat in the days before my accession [many] temples were destroyed by my order. They have been repaired and idol worship has been resumed. Carry out the former order!'

Among the famous temples thus destroyed in this tornado of fanatic fury, were those of Somnath at Kathiawar (rebuilt after Ghazni destroyed it), Vishwanath (Benares) and the Devis of *Kashvi Rai* (Mathura, built by Sir Singh Dev Bursika, at a cost of 50 lakhs of Rupees). There was also wholesale demolition of temples in Kutch-Bhar, Ujjain, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Golkonda, Bhopal and Malabar.

A glimpse of the fanatical fervour is still preserved for us in the pages of the admiring chroniclers. The *Mutakhir-i-Mughal* writes:

'Glory be to God, who has given us the fruits of Islam, that, in the reign of the destroyer of false gods, an undertaking so difficult of accomplishment has been brought to a successful termination! This vigorous support given to the true faith was a severe blow to the arrogance of the infidels and, like idols, they turned their faces over-shoulder to the wall. The richly jewelled idols, taken ~~away~~ the pagan-temples were transferred to Agra, and there placed beneath the steps leading to the Sumit Sahas

1. E. A. D., op. cit., Vol. pp. 183-84.

2. *Mutakhir-i-Aurangzeb*, III, p. 245.

Shah's mosque, in order that they might not be passed under foot by the poor believers. Mosques changed its name into Ishrafid.¹

Similarly, of the achievements in Jodhpur, the writer says: "Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur returned from Jodhpur after demolishing its temples, and bringing with himself several carloads of idols. The Emperor ordered that the idols, which were mostly of gold, silver, brass, and copper, or stone, and adorned with pearls should be cast in the quadrangle of the court and under the steps of the Jama mosque for being trodden upon."

Only in Maharashtra Aurangzeb found the heathens "sufficiently strong and built solely of stone and iron." He complains, "The hatched-men of the Government in the name of my marching do not get sufficient strength and power (i. e. time) to destroy and raze the temples of the Infidels that meet the eye on the way." So he ordered: "You should appoint an articulate Emperor (Idaraghat) who may afterwards destroy them at leisure and dig up their foundations." How symbolic and typical! The Muslims did the digging of the foundations of heathen set of temples, but of the Muslim domination!

In 1674 lands held by Hindus in Gujarat, as religious grants, were all confiscated.

"Fight those who do not profess the true faith, till they pay (jizya) with the hand in humility," said the Prophet of Islam (Qur'an, ix, 29). Yet this ardent law had not been tried within the Muslim dominions since its abolition by Akbar more than a century before Aurangzeb, the World-Compeller, revived it. In the words of the official history compiled from State papers: "All the rites of the religious Empire being directed to the spread of the law of Islam and the overthrow of infidel practices, the issued orders that from *Badshahi* (2nd April, 1679), *Jizya* should be levied from the *dhimmis* in accordance with the Qur'anic injunction."

St. Johnstone Barker from whom the above citation is taken, states, "The theory of some modern writers that the *jizya* was only compensation money paid for exemption from military service is not borne out by history." He also observes, "We shall not be far wrong in holding that the *jizya* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's direct contribution to the State."

The enthusiasm with which the poll-tax was collected by the more fanatical officers is illustrated by the conduct of Mir Akbar

1. H. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 184-85.

2. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 323-24.

3. Ibid., pp. 317-18.

Kuan, Prefect of the City of Beshangpur : he "increased the yield of the tax from Rs. 20,000 a year for the whole city to more than four times the amount in three months for half the city only (1852)."

The Emperor's attitude with respect to this special imposition was : "You are free to grant remissions of revenue of all other kinds, but if you exact any man's paise which I have remitted with great difficulty as laying on the middle, it will be an empire change (shien) and will cause the whole system of collecting the poll-tax to fall into disorder." So when thousands of Hindus gathered to remonstrate to the Emperor, he gave them an hour's time to depart, and then simply rode his elephants over their protest.*

Unfortunately the *shaye* was not the only onerous tax that the Hindus had to pay. "An order was promulgated,"

Carron Daire, ed. says Kishi Kishi, "excepting the commercial goods of Musalmans from tax throughout

the dominions of Hindustan. But after a short time, upon the reports of revenue officers, and by recommendation of good and experienced persons, an order was issued that every article belonging to Musalmans, the price of which was not large should pay free, but that goods of value should pay duty. Goods belonging to persons were not to be troubled with duties. The revenue officers then reported that Musalmans had adopted the practice of dividing their goods into small parcels in order to avoid the duty, and that they passed the goods of Hindus in their names, and thus the payment of the *shaye* prescribed by the Law was avoided. So an order was given that, according to the Law, two and a half percent should be taken from Musalmans and five percent from Hindus."

Sauvay gives a slightly different version of this discrimination, but the basic fact to be noted is that distinction was made between

* *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

† See Kishi Kishi, S. A. D., op. cit., p. 184.

‡ S. A. D., op. cit., p. 203.

§ By an edict issued on 10th April, 1856, says Prof. Sauvay, "the customs duty on all commodities brought in for sale was fixed at 2½ p. c. of the value in the case of the Hindus and 5 p. c. in that of Hindu women. This was called the *shaye* or duty, and must not be confounded with the *shait* or tolls which all Muslims had to pay for the revenue of their *shait*, and the process of which ended, by the *shait* law, in a grant of Musalmans along. On 28th May, 1857, the Emperor abolished the customs duty altogether in the case of Muslim traders, while that on the Hindus was retained at the old level." (*Beshangpur*, III, p. 213 and p. 214).

subjects on account of their religious creed. To be a Hindu was a disability.

In November, 1685, Aurangzeb issued a proclamation in Gujarat to the following effect:—"In the city and other towns of Ahmedabad (i.e. Gujarat) the Hindus following their superstitious customs light lamps in the night of *Diwali*, and during the days of *holi* open their houses in obscene speech and kindle the *holi* bonfires in *chattris* and houses, throwing into the fire the *lagget* of all people that they can seize by force or theft. It is ordered that in *Jamru* there should be no illumination at *diwali*, nobody's *lagget* should be taken by force or theft, and *flung* into the *holi* bonfires and no obscene language used." Although the regulation regarding *holi* was undoubtedly a wholesome measure, its being coupled with the prohibition of *diwali* illuminations, it was calculated to excite Hindu popular resentment.

Similarly, in 1686, following the example of Feroz Shih Taghlay in the 14th century, Aurangzeb also forbade Hindu *yajnas* (which, as K. M. K. K. says, "on certain days countless numbers of Hindus, men and women of every caste, assembling at their idol temples, when *lots* of *rajputs* change hands in buying and selling, and from which large sums accrue to the provincial treasuries").

In 1691 it was laid down that all rent collectors in crown-lands ought to be Muslims. The provincial viceroys and *Mahals* were also called upon to dismiss their Hindu head-clerks (*putihars*) and accountants (*darshanas*) and to replace them by *Muharrirans*. And to crown all, in March 1695, all Hindus excepting *Rajputs* were forbidden to ride well-bred horses, elephants, or *jakkas*, and to wear arms.¹

HINDU REACTION

The arbitrary rule provoked even the meek Hindus to rebel, and a large crop of troubles sprang from the sewing of the dragon's teeth.

The first reaction showed itself in a series of peasant risings round about Mathura. "Some hostile attempts were made on the Emperor's life, but they were childish and easily put down."² In June 1698

1. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

2. *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

3. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 323.

Qasr Abdul Mulkam was murdered by the disciples of a Hindu shafie named Uthman Shamsi, as the latter had been imprisoned 'for his seduction of men to false knowledge.' As a result both the murderers and the shafie were put to death by order of Aurangzeb.

Abdus Nabi, *faiz* of Mathura, had provoked the people by his destruction of a Hindu temple and the erection of a mosque on its site in 1661-2. By order of Aurangzeb he had also forcibly removed, in 1666, the stone railing prevented to the Keshav Rai temple by Durr-i-Shikoh. Such acts became more and more frequent. Consequently, there was a rising of the Jat peasantry in 1666 in an attempt to put down the revolt under Gokha of Tilpat. Abdus Nabi was shot dead on 18th May, 1668. Repressals followed, and towards the close of the year, or beginning of 1670, the rich temple of Keshav Rai was razed to the ground, and a mosque erected in its place. 'The den of iniquity thus destroyed,' wrote Saini Hama'ud Khan, 'it owed its erection to Nur (Shah) Begh Doo Bandola, an ignorant and depraved man. . . . Thirty-three lacs were expended on this work.' Landlessness increased and spread towards Agra, until Gokha Jai's following numbered 20,000 strong. Finally, in one terrible engagement the rebel leader was taken captive and hanged to pain; 4,000 of the voters and 5,000 of the rebels died fighting; 7,000, including Gokha's family, was arrested, and forcibly converted with the exception of those who were paroled innocent and released. During the campaign the Emperor, with admirable humanity, 'hastily detached 200 horsemen to guard the crops of the villagers and prevent the soldiers from oppressing any of them and taking any child prisoner.' Yet in March, 1670, Hamaun Ali Khan was 'engaged in slaying and capturing the rebels, plundering their houses, stripping away their families, and demanding their strong [mad] Jats'.¹

Again, in June 1681, a *faiz* in the service of Agra was obliged to lead an expedition against the Jats, and got killed in the attempt. As late as 1683, the irresponsible Jats once more raised the standard of revolt under Bijay Rai, and after his death under Chauraman Jat. They carried on a desultory warfare until the end of Aurangzeb's reign, 'and could not be subdued by that Emperor's decedent successors.'²

¹ *J. & O.*, op. cit., p. 170.

² *Nizam*, op. cit., p. 334.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 336, for a fuller account of these and other minor disturbances by North India between 1660-1707, see Jackson's *Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 397-400.

The *Satubhis* (or followers of the True Name of God) was a strange sect with their stronghold at Narnaul (Seelam Singh, [75 miles s. w. of Delhi] subaltern Major, a contemporary historian, has described them as "extremely filthy and wicked. In their rules they make no distinction between *Hydras* and *Mousmours*, and eat pigs and other unclean animals. If a dog is served up before them, they do not show any disgust at it. In war and immorality they see no blame."¹

In like manner the author of the *Mutahis Akhbari* also fulminates against them:

"It is cruel for wretches that a gang of bloody, miserable wretches, gold-eaters, rapacious, swarves, thieves, and other specious lumps, braggarts and fools of all descriptions, should become so pulled up with vainglory as to cast themselves headlong into the pit of self-destruction. Thus is how it came to pass. A misguided set of people, inhabitants of Mirvat, collected suddenly in white-wash spring from the ground, or locusts descended from the skies. It is affirmed that these people considered themselves immortal; seventy lives was the reward promised to every man of them who fell in action. A body of about 5,000 had collected in the neighbourhood of Narnaul, and were in open rebellion. Cities and districts were plundered. Their King Jaigah, considering himself not strong enough to oppose them, reported to the emperor. The King resolved to exterminate the usurpers. The royal forces marched to the encounter; the insurgents showed a bold front, and although totally unprovided with the implements of war, made good use of what arms they had.... The forces of India fought with impetuosity, and crimsoned their robes with the blood of these desperate men."²

Khat Khir's more sober narrative gives other details.

"One of the remarkable occurrences of this year (July, 1671) he writes, "was the outbreak of the Hindu devotes called *Satubhis* who are also known by the name of *Mutahis* (i.e. those who follow). There were four or five thousand of these, who were headstrong, in the regions of Narnaul and Mirvat. There was *devat* (i.e. devotes), but they nevertheless carry on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion they have dignified themselves with the title of "Good Name," thus being the meaning of *Satubhis*. They are not allowed to engage women in any but a lawful calling. If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by means of authority, they will not endure it. Many of them have weapons and arms."

"At the time Aurangzeb was returning from Hasan Abdal a strong rebellion arose one day near Nowast, between a man of this sect, who was engaged in agricultural work, and a man who was keeping watch

1. Cited by Seelam, op. cit., p. 237.

2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 136-37.

over the harvest. The latter broke the Sahasra's hand with his staff. A number of Sahasras were collected and beat the watchmen, so that they let him for dead. When intelligence reached the Ahoyas, he assembled his men and sent them to meet those Sahasras. Mountain masters of the Sahasras assembled. They attacked the Ahoyas's men, overpowered them, wounded several, and took away their arms. These numbers went on increasing, and information was carried to Kartabik Khān, Jajpur of Marwar. To shorten a long story, rather it to say that after several fights the Jajpur was killed, and the town of Marwar fell into the hands of the Sahasras. They proceeded to collect the taxes from the villages, and established posts of their own. When the Rajputs reached Datta, he was informed of this outbreak, and he sent force after force to quell it, but they were all defeated and dispersed. It was said that sorcery, arrows, and musket-balls had no effect upon these men, and that every arrow and ball which they discharged against the royal army brought down two or three men. That they were credited with magic and witch-craft, and stories were currently reported about them which were utterly incredible. They were said to have magic wooden breast the live ones on which their women rode as an advance guard.

Great signs and veteran under were sent against them with powerful arrows. But the rebels were eager for the fight, and advanced to about sixteen or seventeen kos from Datta. The royal army went forth boldly to attack them; but the residents of the neighbourhood, and some cowardly Rajputs, seized the opportunity to show off their chakras, and to withhold the government dues. They even broke out into open violence, and the flames daily increased. The King ordered his tents to be brought out. He then made some prayers and devotion with his own hands, which he ordered to be done on the banners and standards, and carried against the rebels. At length, by the mediation of Raja Bhat Singh, Harid Khān, and others, several thousands of them were killed, and the rest were put to flight, so that the outbreak was quelled.¹

The Sikh religion, founded by Bhai Nānak (1469-1539 A.D.),

was the outcome of the impact of Islam on

The Sikhs.

Shiokhism. In the words of Bhai Gurditta:

'Truth is hidden both from the Hindus and the Mohammedans; both sects have gone astray. But when they lay aside superstition they form one body of Sikhs.' The apostolate of the Sikhs, from Bhai Nānak, the founder, to Guru Govind Singh, the last Guru, consisted of ten leaders. Their total regime lasted from 1469-1708, i.e., almost exactly synchronous with the Great Mughals, from Babur to Aurangzeb. The second, Guru Arjun (1583-82), was a contemporary of Humayun (1550-56). The Sikh, Guru Arjun (1583-1606), had become so important that, according to a contem-

poetry, "The Emperor [Akbar] and kings bow before him. Wealth and wealth to him." We have already observed the fate of the Gurs under Jahangir: his sympathy with the religious persecutions ended in his virtual execution. His son and successor, Har Govard (1605-43), was not so a devoted soul. "I have done words," he said, "in evidence of spiritual and temporal authority. In the Gurs's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined." He had to undergo twelve years' confinement in Gwalior fort for his father's nonpayment of the fine imposed upon him by Jahangir. Early in the reign of Shah Jahan (1628), Har Govard's persistent refusal came into conflict with the Imperial hunting party. This led to military retaliation, in which the Imperialists were routed with heavy loss at Sangrha, near Amritsar. But finally, the rebellious Gurs was forced to take refuge at Kotliar in the Kashmir Hills, where he died in 1645. Shah Jahan paid frequent visits to Har Rai, the seventh Gurs (1645-61), and was blessed by him. When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, he called upon Har Rai to answer for this: but Har Rai only sent his eldest son, Har Rai, to the Imperial Court. The latter having fallen into the Imperial trap, was decapitated by the king, who consequently, at the time of his death (in 1667), nominated his second son Har Kahan successor. Har Rai thereupon contacted the gurs with the support of Aurangzeb. Har Kahan was sent for, but death snatched him away in 1664. However, the chiefs of the Sikh community now led by Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Har Govard. In 1665 this new Gurs appears to have fought in the Mughal camp in the Aurang war, under Ratan Singh, son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh. But on his return to the Punjab, "he was drawn into the whirlwind which Aurangzeb had raised by his policy of religious persecution. A soldier and prince could not remain indifferent while his creed was being wastefully attacked and its holy places desecrated". So he threw himself heart and soul into the movement against forcible conversions that had been going on in Kashmir and other places. Such conduct was bound to arouse Imperial wrath sooner or later; and when that happened the Gurs ended his life as a martyr.

1. Seeley, *op. cit.*, p. 324. The ~~view~~ of the above account is illustrated from Jaisir, who quotes Ratan Khan to show that "Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Gurs's agents (Gurus) for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the hills."

There are different versions of the details of this tragedy. Fred Barker says, "Taken to Delhi, he was cast into prison and called upon to embrace Islam, and on his refusal was tortured for five days and then beheaded on a warrant from the Emperor."¹ According to McGregor, Tugh Babādur was sent for by Akbaragāh at the instigation of Rām Rāi, as a worshiper of the Sikh gods. The Guru was told that unless he gave some explanation of his conduct, he should not be liberated. At length the Guru gave his answer, "Since you wish it, I will give the explanation required. I will place a written paper round my neck, which you cannot cut with a sword." Having said this, and written on a piece of paper, he tied it round his neck and then requested the emperor to order some one to cut it! The blow was given, and the head of the Guru rolled on the floor! The paper was then read and contained these words:—

"So dya aur filar na dya!"

Cunningham, on the other hand, writes: "Tugh Babādur followed the example of his father with unequal footsteps, and choosing for himself the meaner between Heaven and the Gods, he subverted himself and his disciples by glances, in a way, indeed, that rendered him not unpopular with the peasantry. He is further credibly represented to have bargained with a Mahomedan ruler, named Adām Hāfi and to have levied contributions upon rich Hindus, while his confederate did the same upon wealthy Hindoos. They gave a ready refuge to all fugitives, and their power interfered with the prosperity of the country; the imperial troops marched against them, and they were at last defeated and made prisoners. The Mahomedan saint was banished, but Akbaragāh determined that the Sikh should be put to death." He was accordingly summoned to Delhi, where the incident described by McGregor took place. "Such is the narrative of a rude and wonder-loving people," concludes Cunningham; "yet it is more certain that Tugh Babādur was put to death as a rebel in 1573, and that the stern and bigoted Akbaragāh had the body of the unbeliever publicly exposed in the streets of Delhi."²

Finally, V. A. Smith gives a flattering anecdote in this connection, for which, however, no definite authority is cited by him:

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 324-5.

² "I gave my head, but not my secret."—McGregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, I, p. 87.

³ *A History of the Sikhs*, pp. 32-4.

"According to a famous story he (Teg Bahadur) was accused while imprisoned at Delhi of turning his gaze in the forbidden direction of the imperial harem apartments. He replied to the charge by saying:

"Emperor Akbarghat, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at the private apartments, or at the Quince. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from Istanbul to tear down the hangings (jardine) and destroy the empire!"¹

Teg Bahadur, on his way to Delhi, anticipating his fate, had banded on the torch of hatred to his wounded successor, Govind Singh. "Girding upon him the sword of His Girded, he hailed him as the Gurus of the better. He told him he was himself being led to death, he counselled him not to leave his body a prey to dogs, and he enjoined upon him the necessity and the merit of struggle." At the time of these happenings Govind Singh was only fifteen years of age. "The violent and sad the last injunction of the martyr Gurus, made a deep impression on the mind of Govind, and in brooding over his own loss and the fallen condition of his country, he became the reconciler for of the Mahomedan races, and conceived the noble idea of moulding the vanquished Hindoos into a new and upsurging people."²

We need not trace in detail the personal history and training of Guru Govind for the task he had set himself.³ "In the heart of a powerful empire he set himself the task of subverting it, and from the midst of social degeneration and religious corruption, he called up simplicity of manners, unguishness of purpose, and enthusiasm of desire. Govind was equally bold, systematic, and temperate; but it is not necessary to suppose him either an unscrupulous impostor or a self-deluded enthusiast. He thought that the minds of men might be wrought upon to great purpose, and he believed the time had come for another teacher to awake the latent energies of the human will. His memory was filled with the deeds of primeval men and heroes; his imagination dwelt on successive dispensations for the instruction of the world, and his mind was perhaps enlarged

1. O. II, p. 484.

2. Chetwode, op. cit., pp. 370.

3. For *Vikram Natak*, which forms the Third Book of the *Granth*, is an autobiography of Guru Govind Singh.

with a superstition belief in his own earthly destiny.¹ In short, Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and last of the Sikh Apostles (1675-1708), was one of whom it had been said: "he could convert jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks." He inspired his followers with the belief that "where there are two Sikhs, there is a community of saints; where there are five Sikhs, there is God!" He made the Sikhs homogeneous by the abolition of all caste distinctions, and making them "as free in matters of eating and drinking as a Musselman." "I shall make men of all four castes lions," he said, "and destroy the Mughals." He drilled and disciplined his men into a body of warriors. Indeed, as Prof. Sarkar has well observed: "If Cromwell's Ironsides could have been inspired with the Sikhs' unflinching acceptance of their Supreme's decisions on moral and spiritual questions, the result would have equalled Guru Govind's Sikhs as a fighting machine."²

To oppose Mughal Imperialism he assumed the outward images of a god-king. He lived in princely state, "kept a train of poets in his court, and made plenty of gold ornaments for himself and his family. His body-guards were provided with arrows tipped with gold to the value of Rs. 15 each, and he had a big war drum made in imitation of the Mughal Imperial band."³ But among fellow Sikhs he lived on terms of perfect equality. When he introduced the new baptism, to the great amusement of his disciples, he received it in turn (?) at their hands! When he recognized the Sikh community as the *Khanda* (the pen, or God's own people), he gave them the appellation of *Saighe* or *Sons*. They were always to wear the five *Ka*: *Kai*—long hair, *Kanga*—a comb, *Kirpan*—a sword, *Kach*—shoes, and *Kara*—a steel bracelet. The reform of the transformation is well indicated in the Guru's last address to his disciples: "Since the time of Bhai Mitrak," he said, "Cherem-pakul hath been customary. Men drink the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility; but *Khanda* can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms. Therefore, I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger and change my followers from *Sikhs* (disciples) to *Saighe* (Sons)." Ever long he gathered together a formidable host of about 40,000 followers.

1 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

2 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-6.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

He had for a long time to contend with the local chieftains and Rajas in Kashmir and the Punjab, then ultimately with the organised might of the Emperor. In the course of these struggles, strongly reminiscent of the trials and tribulations of the fortitude and courage and determination of Elkan Pasha, eight (or lost two) of his sons in fighting, and two others gave their heads as the penalty for refusing to apostatise. On hearing of these losses the Guru agonised a week by his side, and exclaimed, "As I dig up that shrub by the roots, so shall the Turks be exterminated". Of course he did not live to achieve this ambition. But as Cunningham truly points out, success is not always the measure of greatness. "The last apostle of the faith did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectively raised the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty, although fatal, longing for social freedom and national independence."¹

The last act of Guru Govind besting defiance was a letter he addressed to Aurangzeb, known as the *Zabar Nameh*. When the Emperor summoned him to his presence, he wrote to him declaring—

"I have not a particle of submission in me. I was forced to engage in the sword and brought to the verge of my ability. What so slight strength beyond the rules of diplomacy. It is foolish to have recourse to the sword. If they come to the village of Karpar, we shall have an interview. Then shall not run the slightest danger on the way, for the whole realm of Bharat is under me. I am a slave and servant of the King of Kings, and ready to obey His order with my life. If thou hast any belief in God, delay not in this matter. It is thy duty to know God. He never deludes thee in any of His words. Thou art seated on an Emperor's throne; yet how strange are thy justice, thine attributes and thy regard for religion! Alas! A hundred times alas! for thy conceit! Strange, strange is thy decree! Seize not any one carelessly with thy sword, or a crowd from on high shall smite thyself. O man, be not restless, fear God. He is the Emperor of earth and heaven. He is the creator of all animals from the feeble ant to the strong elephant. He is the Protector of the miserable and destroyer of the wicked. What though my four arms were cut? I remain behind like a solid rock! What heavier is it to squander a few sparks of life? There art surely willing a raging fire? I will not enter the presence, nor travel on the same road with thee, but if God so will it, I will proceed against thee. When thou hast to thee army and wealth, I look to God's justice. Thou art seated at the feet of the Emperor, while I am proud of the Kingdom of the Immortal God. Be not heedless! this commandment is only for a few days.

1. A similar anecdote is related of Chitankya in the *Pravara*.

2. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

People leave it at all times. Even though there are strong, many not the weak. Lay not the sin to thy disciples!"

The Emperor, indeed, felt this constrained in a few days and the prophetic Guru was saved for the time being. When Prince Mubarak¹ was on his way to secure Aurangzeb's throne, Guru Govind joined him. In recognition of the service rendered by the Khalsa army, Bahadur Shah put General Singh in command of 5,000 horse. But during the campaign in the Deccan, whether Guru Govind had accompanied the Emperor, he was assassinated by a Pathan, who had an ancient grudge to feel let on him. This happened at Nander on the Godavari (150 miles north west of Hyderabad) in 1708. With him ended the Sikh Apostolate of the Ten Gurus. His constant desire had been:

Now he planned to grant me the boon I crave with clasped hands ;

That when the end of life cometh, I may be fighting on a weighty battle !

His last message to his followers was : "I have entrusted you to the Immortal God. Stay awhile under His protection, trust no one besides. Wherever there are five Sikhs assembled, who abide by the Guru's teachings, know that I am in the midst of them. . . I have infused my soul into the Khalsa and the Greatest SHAKH . . . Obey the Greatest SHAKH. It is the visible body of the Guru. And let him who dwelleth to meet me delightfully march its byways"²

RAJPUT RESISTANCE

Towards the close of Sixth Jahangir's reign (1627-58 A.D.) Rana Chhokardas³ of Udaipur had made bold to restore the walls of Chittor, against treaty- stipulations since their destruction by Akbar. As the Shah felt concerned for it :

"From the time of the late Emperor Jahangir, it had been settled that no one of the Shikha posterity should ever build it; but Rana Jagat Singh, the father of Rana Jai Singh, having not observed this, had pulled down every part that was damaged, and built it up very

¹ Abolished from Government in Run Fort (Malkaj, Malkaj) 1612-17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 159

strongly wren." Shah Jahan, when he came to know this, 'deprived Akbar, with a large number of soldiers and munitions and 1,000 men, horses, amounting altogether to 20,000, for the purpose of borrowing so on that function, and despoiling the fort of Chitor... He also directed him, if possible, the Raja did not tender his submission, to re-engage his territory with the royal forces, and whilst mutually charged with *agony*. The Raja, having responded, 'On his arriving within twelve *kos* of Chitor, which is the frontier of the Raja's territory, amongst as the latter's expectations had not yet been satisfactorily terminated by continued plundering and devastating, and departing his camp on the night. On the 5th of Zi-Hijja, this year, having reached the suburbs of Chitor, he devoted working parties with pick-axes and spades to overthrow that powerful stronghold. Accordingly in the course of fourteen or fifteen days, they laid its towers and fortifications in ruins, and having dug up and subverted, both the old and the new walls, levelled the whole to the ground. The Raja having written from his sleep of hardships in the midst of the protracted toils at Ajmer, the terrible loss of the royal army, the dispersion of the pecuniary, and the ruin of his territory, sent off a letter containing the briefest apology to Court, along with his eldest son, who was at his sixth year, and a number of his principal ministers, in company with Shakh 'Abd al Karim, the Prince Salaut Iqbal's *Mir-i* Bepast; A Jewels was then issued to Janderud *khila* ('Akbar'), that since the fort had been demolished, and the Raja had sent off his son to Court, the pen of imprisonment had been drawn through the register of his delinquency at the Prince Salaut Iqbal's solicitation."

Rajasthan was at peace with the Empire for a quarter century when this happened. Raja Jaiwant Singh of

Left before Jodhpur and Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur) *Wren* commanded Mughal armies against the

Maraṭhas, as we shall see in a later section of this chapter. During the first War of Succession, the former had, indeed, fought against Aurangzeb at Dharmat, and betrayed him at Khajwāh. But Aurangzeb finally won him over. The crafty Emperor, as Tod says, 'always preferred stratagem to the procrustean use of arms' and 'addressed a letter to Jaiwant, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Gujarat if he would withdraw his support from Dāūd, and remain neutral in the contest.' This was achieved through the mediation of Mirza Salim Jai Singh after Khajwāh and before Dharmat (5th January—15th March 1659). In spite of their good services, however, the two Rājas shared an equally disastrous fate. Aurangzeb suspected both of complicity

with Shirdip, and ultimately got rid of both by poisoning the one and sending the other "beyond the Attock to die."¹

Singh never ceased from Aurangzeb's heart, it was said, while Jorwant Singh lived. In the estimation of the immortal historian of Rajasthan : "The life of Jorwant Singh is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajputana.... Throughout the long period of two and forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Aurangzeb,.... to his conflicts with the Afghans. Although the Emperor had a preference amongst the sons of Shih Jahan, esteeming the英俊 (Dil) above the crafty Aurangzeb, yet he devoted the whole race to instrumental to the religion and the independence of his own, and he only fed the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all."²

The twenty-five years of Rajput acquiescence, following the dawning of Chittr, therefore, formed merely the calm before a storm.³ The death of Jorwant Singh at Jammal, on 15th December, 1678 was practically a signal for war. The valiant Rajput had been sent to fight the Afghans with the hope that he might not return. During his absence 'Mirzo' (Mirwar) had been left in the charge of Prithee Singh, Jorwant Singh's heir. Aurangzeb summoned Prithee Singh to his Court and at the end of flattering entertainment presented him with a poisoned 'drum of honour'—"That day was his last!" The harassment, together with the loss of two other sons at Rahel, hastened the death of Jorwant Singh who had been sufficiently worn out by the trials of the campaign. Before three weeks were out Aurangzeb's plans regarding Jodhpur had already been set in motion.

The State being virtually without a head, and Jorwant's last troops over in Afghanistan, the Mirwals had no way to anything. Muslim officers were at once appointed to the posts of *Rasulda*, *Qasulda*, *Karnal*, and *Amir* at Jodhpur. On 25th January, 1679, Aurangzeb himself set out for Ajmer to overcome opposition. On 7th February, Khatai Jahan Bahadur was despatched with a band of high officers "to occupy the country, to demolish its tem-

¹ Tod, *Afflictions*, II, pp. 225-26 and 227.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

³ See "Origins of the Rajput-War (1679-82)" by Tadsal, I. R. G., XVII, 4, Dec. 1941, pp. 430-41.

plot, and seize the late Maharajah's property."¹ On 2nd April Anangpoh returned to Delhi and took the momentous step of re-imposing the *yajpa*. Evidently he was flustered with the thought of having subjugated Jodhpur, the rallying centre of militant Hindoos in the North. Next month Khindji Jodha returned to Court taking with him cart-loads of beauteous idols from Jodhpur to be trodden under foot by pious Hindoos at the capital. To complete the work of humbling Māruwar, the throne of Jorawat Singh was sold to the Chief of Nagpur for 36 lakhs of Rupees, and the latter occupied it on 26th May, 1879, under Imperial escort.

But soon a cloud appeared on the horizon. Two widowed queens of the dead Maharajah had given birth to two sons at Lahore in February. Through one of them succumbed within a few weeks, the other lived to sit on his father's throne, at the end of a very romantic career. This was Ajit Singh the protégé of the heroic Durgaditta, whom Tol describes as the Ulysses of the Pāthāns, and whom the Rajputs still adore as the epitome of their chivalry.

"*Ek! Jodhi post aur jai*
Jais Durgaditti!
Rani Māruwar rāhkar
Bin tharai jidhi!"²

"This model of a Rajput, as wise as he was brave, was the saviour of his country. To his suggestion it owed the preservation of his power, and to a series of heroic deeds, his subsequent and more difficult subjugation."³

Anangpoh, when he heard of the posthumous children, at once thought of capturing them. They were brought to Delhi, but the strategy of Durgaditta saved Ajit Singh for Māruwar. The narrative of how it happened may be told in the words of Khindji Khindji:—

"There was an old standing grievance in the Rajpoots' heart respecting Raja Jorawat Singh's willow, which was appreciated by these posthumous progenitors of the Rajpoots. He ordered the latter to take his own men, with an additional force obtained from the *mansabdaris*, as well as some artillery, and to surround the camp of the Rajpoots, and keep guard over them....."

1. See, Anangpoh, III, p. 279.

2. *Ibid.* *op. cit.*, p. 307. "Oh, mother! produce such sons as Durgaditta who first supported the claim of Māruwar, and then propped the banner (against a pillar)!"

3. *Ibid.*

"Meanwhile the Rajputs had obtained two boys of the same age as the Raja's children. They dressed some of the female attendants as the parents of the sons and taking every precaution that their stratagem should not be discovered, they left their persons and the boys under guard in their camp. The (real) sons, disguised as men, went off at night in charge of two trusty servants and a party of devoted Rajputs and while their way was all speed to their own country. The brave and active chieftains, who might have stopped or overtaken them, were keeping guard over the tents in which the pretended children of the Raja were. After two or three nights, when a report of the fact was made, some efforts were sent to make inquiries, and it was repeatedly stated that the sons and the children were still there. Orders were then given for taking of the Raja's followers into the fortress. The Rajputs and the disguised women, who were ready to fight like men for the honour of their Raja, made a determined resistance. Many were killed, but a party escaped."

"The flight of the sons was not clearly proved (!) Some men, who wished to show their zeal, and to prove their negligence in the matter, asserted that the boys had escaped, and that the women had sent out a force to secure them. The Royal horse went in pursuit twenty leagues from Delhi, but afterwards met overtake the Rajputs, and returned unsuccessful. The two (pretended) boys were given into the charge of the women of the royal harem, and were there brought up. The two boys whom the Rajputs carried off were for a long time rejected by Akbarpur, who refused to acknowledge that they were the sons of Jaunwar, until all doubt was removed by the Raja of Chitor, who married Ajit Singh to a girl of his family."

The whole strategy had been planned and executed by Dargahda, a son of Jaunwar Singh's minister Ashwari, Baron of Deotars. "Fighting against terrible odds and a host of enemies on every side, with distrust and misgiving among his own countrymen, he kept the cause of his chieftain triumphant. Mughal pride could not refuse, Mughal arms could not desert that constant heart. Almost alone among the Rajputs he displayed the rare combination of the dash and reckless valour of a Rajput soldier with the tact, diplomacy and organising power of a Mughal minister of State."¹ The other death-bringing Rajputs, who immortalised themselves by staying the Mughal pursuit of the fugitives at every step, at the cost of their own lives, were Raghunath Bhatti and Raghunath Jodha. While the route from Delhi to Mirwar, up to the point of the pursuers' exhaustion, was being dyed with the blood of brave Rajput hands, the custodians of Ajit Singh reached Jodhpur with their precious

¹ F. & D. op. cit. pp. 337-38.

² Satkar, op. cit., pp. 325-26.

charge (22nd July, 1879). Mirjapur quickly rallied round its infant king.

But Aunangpoh, ever resolute in political expediency, declared Ajit Singh a pretender and imprisoned ^{Mahamand} ^{him!} a milk-maid's lad of equal age, as his own son-in-law, the real heir of Jangar Singh. This imposed ward was brought up in the Maghal harem as a rival to Ajit Singh, under the sinister name of Mahamand Rāj. At the same time a strong force of Mahamand was sent to Mirjapur for the reconquest of that State. "Assault and slaughter were let loose on the doomed province."

On 26th September, Aunangpoh once again took up his headquarters at Ajmer. Prince Muhammad Akbar, ^{Second Division} ^{of Mirjapur,} who was soon to play the rôle of Deshay, was put in charge of the campaign, with Tahsawar Khatā, ^{Jaikhat of Ajmer,} as second-in-command. The first scene of the tragedy opened with the slaughter of the brave band of Mirjapur Khilāns under Rāj Singh—the Leonidas of this Thermopylæ—at the temple of the Sacred Boat, near Lake Pabhar. Thereafter every town in Mirjapur became a stronghold to be captured, and every Rājā a stubborn Harward the Wain. "Mirjapur" was transformed into one vast arena of blood-shed, pillage, and devastation. Mosques arose like redoubts on the sites of temples to proclaim the triumph of Islam in the Jerusalem of the Hindus. The rest was scattered through the land like foam!

'As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Aunangpoh pour his barbarians over the land.' [1] It was indeed not a minority for Mirjapur alone, but an immense danger to Meerut and other Rajput States as well. "The annihilation of Mirjapur was but the preliminary to an easy conquest of Meerut." Besides, the rage for temple destruction was not likely to be stopped by the Aunangpoh's rage. Already the demand for pilyas had been made even from the Mahabharata. The Saxons, therefore, had every reason to make common cause with the Rājās. The fact that Ajit Singh's mother was a Mirjapur Princess, made such a combination both easy and natural.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.

Maharaja Ran Singh, accordingly, began preparations for the defence of Mirwar. He spent fortified Chatoor, and blocked the Deodarai Pass leading to his capital. But Aurangzeb was too experienced a general to await developments. He left Agra on 26th November 1659, for Udaipur. Deodarai was occupied on 4th January, 1660. The Rajputs, finding themselves unequal to the enemy on the low lands, retired to the mountains, leaving even their capital deserted. So, Udaipur was occupied without much struggle. Its only defences were at the great temple—'One of the wonders of the age and a building that had cost the Indians much money; but the Muslims made short work of them.' This and three more temples of Uda-Sagar met with the same fate. Hasan Ali Khan, the Moghul commander, desperately in search of the fugitives, found himself in a quagmire for some time. The Raja was, however, defeated on 23rd January. No less than 175 temples in the environs of Udaipur, and 40 in Chatoor, fell under the stroke of the enemy. His work thus accomplished, Aurangzeb returned to Agra on 22nd March. Pyras Akbar, with his base at Chatoor, was left in charge of the rest. The Moghals had to pay dearly for this hasty retreat of the Emperor. Akbar was either too ill-equipped or too incompetent to meet the situation.

The Saodias began to harass the enemy with the elusive tactics of guerrilla warfare. By May the Mughals suffered heavy losses on the Moghals. "A few days later, the Rajputs carried off a convoy of supplies with 10,000 pack-men bringing grain to the prince's army from Malwa." Bhat Singh, the Raja's son, inflicted swift and sudden blows at unexpected points. "Our army," Akbar complained, "is motionless through fear!"

With this confession of defeat, Akbar was transferred to Mirwar. The Mirwar command was now entrusted

Third Invasion of Mirwar. to Prince Azam (24th June), the other two

Princes were merely to co-operate with him in delivering a three-fold attack: Azam from Chatoor, Mansaram from Rajasamudra, and Akbar from Deogarh. The plan, however, miscarried.

Akbar took up his headquarters at Sujat (in Mirwar) on 23rd July, 1660. But the situation became so perilous that the Prince only made a show of movement without any real action. At the end of September he shifted to Nathi, and on 19th November, under urgent orders from Aurangzeb, left "the whining schoolboy, with

he watched, "creeping like usual unwillingly to school" (but with out his "staring morning face"). Agha advanced up to Demashq. But the result of this pressure in an impossible situation was far from what Aurangzeb had ever dreamt of. The year 1682 closed with lessons on its face.

On 1st January, Prince Muhammad Agha denied the imperial order, with the backing of four *Mahdls* who
 Agha's Revolt. declared Aurangzeb deposed for "violation of the Islamic Canon Law!" According to Khali Khān, Prince Muhammad was first tempted by the Rajputs but he failed to respond to their seduction.

"When they departed versus in this quarter, the Rajputs betook themselves to Prince Muhammad Agha, taking advantage of his youth (he was only 18 years of age), and the favour of some of his friends. *Sugh Dils* was their spokesman. He was noted among them for his dissimilarity, and he used all his arts and wiles to persuade the Prince that they would supply him with fifty thousand Rajput horse, and with abundance of treasure. This so dazzled the Prince that he eyes dilated, and severed of his evil companions (Tahawwur Khān among them) entirely and took permission. He the inexperienced Prince was led away from the path of rectitude, and through his youth and confidence he fell into the snare of the Rajputs."

Prince Muhammad warned Aurangzeb of this defection, but he "thought that Muhammad's letter about his brother Agha was their calumny. Accordingly he wrote to him, and accused him of making a false charge, and praying that the *Aurangzeb* would keep him in the right course, and prevent him from listening to the evil suggestions of despising people."

But, "soon afterwards the secret became public. Thirty thousand Rajputs under *Sughdils* joined the Prince. The news spread from tent to tent, and was the talk of young and old. It was reported that he had accepted the throne, and that since had been struck in his name; that Tahawwur Khān had been made a *half-brother*, and had assumed the title of *Amir al-Umra*; that *Muhammad Khān* and other great servants of *Shah*, who were with the Prince, had received distinguished honours, which some of them had felt themselves constrained to accept. The Prince was doing his best to win the affections of all, and was said to be marching against Aurangzeb.

"On the forces being sent off under the command of Prince Agha against the infidels," Khali Khān continues, "only *Shah Khān* and a limited number of officers and men were left in attendance upon the Emperor. All his efforts, counting the *mansabs* and *warans* did not exceed more or eight hundred *huzars*. A great panic fell upon the

1. *Sulaiman*, op. cit., p. 606.

2. *K. & D.*, op. cit., pp. 300-1.

royal camp, and wild confusion followed. A letter under the royal seal, however, was sent off in haste to Prince Mahamud Adilshah, urging him to come with all his army, and with the greatest haste, to Aurangzeb.

...The Prince obeyed the summons, and hastened to war upon his father's¹

Meanwhile, there was a few important defections in the camp of the rebel Prince. Defected the Khan (father of the first Nizam of Hyderabad) was the first Moghal captive, after a hard two days' ride of 120 miles, to bring his brother Masud Khan from Akbar to Aurangzeb. Next, was Akbar's right-hand man, Tahsinwar Khan, who was won over by a threatening letter from his father-in-law Masud Khan (Aurangzeb's secretary). In a Tahsinwar Khan was promised a pardon for his indiscretion, and having received he was threatened that his women would be publicly outraged and his men sold into slavery at the price of dogs.² (What a contrast to the conduct of Daulat Khan, who, when Akbar was at flight, as we shall presently see, gave shelter to his family and provided for their education at the hands of Muslim tutors!) The tale of Tahsinwar, for all his villainous conduct, was tame. When he reached Aurangzeb's camp, he asserted the dignity of a Moghal warrior to enter the presence without being dismissed. This manner was looked upon with suspicion of designs on the Emperor's life. From words at last they came to blows. 'Numbers fell upon him, and he was soon killed, and his head was cut off.'

However, this night gave support, says Khafi Khan, 'his murder caused great divisions in the Prince's army, and among his Rajputs, and they were much dispirited'

Aurangzeb's
Plan

At such a moment Aurangzeb, it is alleged, thought of a plan similar to that adopted by Sher Shah in his campaign against Md. Dey of Jodhpur: 'It was commonly reported,' says our historian, 'that Aurangzeb craftily wrote a letter to Prince Mahamud Akbar and contrived that it should fall into the hands of the Rajputs. In it he pressed the Prince for having won over the Rajputs, as he had been instructed, and that now he should crown his service by bringing them into a position where they would be under the fire of both armies (viz., Akbar's and Aurangzeb's). This letter was the cause of great divisions among them.' In fact the plot was never executed, and Prince Akbar woke one morning to find himself deserted by his allies. The Rajputs discovered the reality too late. 'For all the mighty force which Prince Akbar brought against his father, the sword was not drawn, and no battle was fought, but his army was completely broken. The Prince was now informed that the Rajputs had abandoned him. There remained with him only Daulat Khan, two or three confidential officers of the Shah, and a small force of two or three thousand horse. Of all his old servants and men, there alone remained. His feet all swelled, all refused, and

1. E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 302.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

hope, and being utterly cut down, he took to flight. . . . Prince Mahmood Ali Khan was ordered to pursue him.¹

The rest of the story of Akbar may be briefly told.

End of Akbar. He made his way, in spite of being hotly pursued, ultimately to the Court of Shahjahan at Farrukh in the South. There he was well received. Shahjahan "saw Akbar's interview him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, showed him his fleet the fort Mithra, and fixed an allowance for his support."² But Aurangzeb had issued orders to "Khalil-Jahan Bahadur, Sahib of the Deccan, and to all the Amirs directing them to stop him, (Akbar) wherever he might come, to take him prisoner after it possible, if not, to kill him." When "the report also came that an army had been sent under the command of Izzat Khan to effect the conquest of Akbar, Prince Mahmood Akbar thought it advisable to make his way as best as he could to Persia." He embarked in February 1657, in a ship hired at Balapur and commanded by the Englishman, Bondal.³ But unfortunately "through the stress of weather," Prince Akbar was stranded upon an island belonging to the Indians of Maskat, who "affected to treat the Prince with hospitality and respect; but in reality kept him under surveillance, and wrote to Aurangzeb offering to surrender the Prince for the sum of two lakhs of rupees and for a charter exempting goods carried in the ships of Maskat from the payment of duty in the port of Surat. If Aurangzeb would send out of his officers, the Indians promised to give up the Prince."

"Upon receiving this letter, Aurangzeb wrote to the officials of the port of Surat, directing them to act in accord with the proposition of the Indians." But, in the meanwhile, the Sahib of Persia (the overlord of the Indians of Maskat) directed the Indians to render up "the Prince (as granted) to him without delay, or an army would be appointed to deliver him and punish the Indians. So perforce the Indians delivered up the Prince to the Sahib's Officers." He was secured well at Persia, where he enjoyed the high ambition of invading India, as Shahjahan had done before him, with Persian assistance. But at Gamul in Khuzestan he died "to-wit the day of the reign of Aurangzeb."

"Akbar's rebellion," as Prof. Sarkar has observed, "led to things the sovereign of Delhi, but it brought Peace with Mah-ran."⁴

unhelped for relief to the Mahrattas. It thus averted the Mughal plan of war at a time when their net was being drawn closer round his State and even his hill refuge had been proved to be not unassailable. Akbar's defection broke the cordons, and, by deserting all the en-

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 304.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 305. For Akbar's activities and disappointments in Maharashtra, see Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 286, 289-291.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

4. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 306-8, 326-7.

turned imperial troops into Marwar, gave autonomous relief to Marwar.¹ The valiant Raja Raj Singh had in the meantime died (23rd October, 1650) ; his successor, Jai Singh, was incapable of maintaining the struggle. Aurangzeb too now wanted to concentrate his attention in the South. Shivaji's death in April, 1680, had given rise to fresh hopes in that direction. The flight of Akbar (16th January, 1681) and the consequent partial had accelerated the divisions of the Imperial forces into the Deccan. Moreover, Samdhi had provided him by giving shelter to the fugitive Prince. So, all things pointed to the expediency of peace in the North. A welcome mediator was found in Durlab Singh of Bidhar who offered to hold the olive branch for either side.

Prince Muhammad Azam personally visited the Marathas on 16th June, 1681, near Rajmunda, and the following terms were agreed upon between Marwar and the Empire :—

1. In lieu of the Jages demanded from Cidigar, the Jageswads of Mandla, Pur, and Boleer were to be permanently ceded to the Empire.

2. The Marathas were to withdraw all their forces from Marwar territory.

Jai Singh was recognised as Raja, holding the rank of 5000 horse in the Imperial paygrade. Two months later Bijai Singh, the hero of Marwar, entered Mughal service, was invested with the dignity of a Raja and posted at Ajmer, for the war with the Rajputs continued till August, 1709.

This backsliding of her ally did not affect the hostile attitude of Marwar towards the Empire. For the

Marwar was then the Vic. Bidhar there could be no peace until Ajit Singh was restored to the throne of his ancestors.

Aurangzeb had, indeed, left for the South. But Mughal officers were still in charge of the State ; the army of occupation was still an eyecore to Marwar. The war of independence therefore, continued until the death of Aurangzeb and the restoration of Ajit Singh.

Three definite stages may be marked out in this protracted struggle : (1) From 1658-57 it was entirely a people's war—kingless leadership and democracy, (2) 1657-1701 under Dargahis and Raj Singh, who now assumed the leadership but could not, despite their victories, cast the Marathas from the sacred soil ; and (3) 1701-2

1. See Dr. Aurangzeb, III, p. 427.

during which period, after much bloodshed and many reverses on both sides, the Mughal policy of greed and aggression completely broke down, and Mirwar recovered her national ruling dynasty.

Ajt Singh was still an infant and in sequestration, and Durgada was away in the Deccan. But the Mughals continued to fight against the Imperials in much the same manner as the Netherlands did against the Spaniards, or the Marathas against the Mughals after the death of Saadullah. They took refuge in the hills and out of the way places, and as one of their own leaders put it: "An hour before sunset every gate of Mirwa was shut. The Mughals held the strongholds, but the plains obeyed Ajt. . . . The roads were now impassable. Their guerrilla methods rendered them impassable and at the same time useless to the army of occupation. Their deadliest tactics were to cut off the Mughal supplies."

The return of Durgada from Manipalure, in 1667, gave a blow to the British war of independence. A valuable ally was also just then gained in Dattaraj Bhaikar of Bhand who strengthened the national army with an addition of a thousand horse. Though the great Bhaikar died soon after, the united Bhand and Mirwar forces succeeded in driving away most of the Mughal outposts, and also raised Imperial territory almost to the gates of Delhi.

In 1680 Durgada won a conspicuous victory over Saif Khan, the Governor of Ajmer. But in Shajhat Khan, the Viceroy of Gujarat who was also now invested with the charge of Mirwar, the Rajputs found an adversary at once tough and subtle. With the help of the historian Ishwarulla, a Mughal Brahmin who had served in Jaipur as revenue officer, Shajhat Khan induced Durgada to send away Akbar's daughter (his ward) to the Imperial Court (1684). It was then that ferocious Aurangzeb was resolved to the spirit of Rajput rivalry in contrast to his own legacy; for Durgada had not even neglected the education of his Muslim ward—she had been enabled to learn the Mohammedan scriptures in the very stronghold of the infidels! But Akbar's son, Bahadur Akhtar was still in Durgada's custody, and he was not restored until 1688, when Aurangzeb granted Ajt Singh the personae of Jaipur, Sandhod, and Serwan as his fief with a command in the Imperial army.

1. Barker, *Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 298-99.

Though this might be looked upon as a humiliating compromise, it was highly expedient, and the two Rajput leaders only made use of it to gain time and opportunity for further advance. Durgadas himself was rewarded with the jaghirs of Patna and a remission of 2,000. Thus he kept until 1704-5, when he again rebelled. The opportunity was afforded by the accession of Prince Mahammed Azim as Viceroy of Gujarat. Durgadas set fire to his tent and baggage and immediately rode away towards Mithrar with all his followers, by forced marches.¹

With this event the Rājasth struggle entered on its third and last stage. To his great chagrin, however,

3rd Stage. — Durgadas found Ajit "important of advice, 1701-1707.
superior in temper, and profound" of his well-

merited influence in the royal council and popularity among his clansmen. The economic exhaustion of Mithrar, too, was complete, and war-weariness had seized the Rājasth after a quarter century of constant fighting. Once more, therefore, both Ajit and Durgadas hoped instead of submission to the great Emperor (1704-5). But the final opportunity came on the eve of Aurangzeb's death. The twin lightnings had again risen in revolt when the welcome news of the Emperor's demise reached their ears. On 7th March, 1707, Ajit was again on the march towards his ancestral capital. Jaffer Khan, the deputy *Jamda* of Jodhpur, was soon expelled, and the son of Jaiwant Singh at last sat on his father's throne. Durgadas's herculean labours had not been in vain!

III. SOUTH INDIA

[When Aurangzeb marched South in pursuit of his fugitive son, Prince Akbar, he marched to his doom. The Deccan was to prove his graveyard, and when, in 1707, he was buried there, more things were under the stone than the body of the dead Emperor! But before we come to the denouement of the great drama of Aurangzeb's life, we have to traverse the tangle of South Indian history where we left it, viz., at the commencement of the disastrous strife in 1687.

A. TAIL OF THE ANG-CHART

On 4th October 1687 Aurangzeb retreated from Kalyan on account of happenings we have already

introduced.

— The conquest of Bijapur was then deferred for more vital considerations. The

peace that had been secured by the Adil Shah, through the intervention of Daulat with Shah Jahan, could not last, at the nature of things. The Bijapur ruler had promised to pay an indemnity of one crore of rupees and to cede the forts of Badar, Kalyani, and Parvati. But no sooner than Aurangzeb turned his back on the Deccan, it became clear that Adil Shah would not yield without further struggle. On 1st January 1688 Mir Jamsi returned to Aurangabad baffled in his attempts to secure fulfilment of the treaty with Bijapur. Then came Aurangzeb's expunging pre-occupations in North India. The History of Bijapur in the intervening period is mixed up with that of the Marathas and is not relevant to our purpose here. We may, therefore, hasten to relate the tragedy of the two Mohammedan kingdoms of the south, viz., Bijapur and Golkonda; for, once we have finished with them, we shall be free to consider undistracted Aurangzeb's last and fatal struggle with Mahadshah.

Jai Singh, who had been sent against Sherik (about whom later), had, by June 1685, succeeded in concluding the treaty of Purandar detaching the Marathas from their alliance with Bijapur; nay more, he had secured from Sherik, a promise to assist the Mughals with 7,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, under his own and his son Sambhaji's leadership respectively, in the intended campaign against Bijapur. The Adil Shah was further weakened by the retirement of his nobility (e.g. Malik Ahmad, a Nayabat from Karkhan who occupied the second place among the Bijapur nobles), by professing infidelity. Attempts were also made to induce Kotsi Shah to keep aloof in the coming struggle. Nevertheless, 40,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry from Golkonda threw in their weight on the side of Bijapur. Jai Singh had under him 40,000 imperial troops, besides 2,000 Maratha cavalry and 7,000 infantry under Nantaji Mahar. The last played a truant and took bribes from both sides; and although, however, Jai Singh came within 12 miles of Bijapur before the end of December (1685), after fighting a series of futile battles he was obliged to retreat.

Adil Shah II had made effective preparations for the defence. The regular garrison had been reinforced with 30,000 doughty Kamibhatia, and the whole country around to a radius of 5 miles had been rendered a desert, so that the enemy might find neither shelter nor provisions. The result was that Jai Singh

had to retreat, offering worse than nothing. The campaign was a military failure. "Not an inch of territory, not a stone of a fortress, not a piece of indemnity was gained by it. As a financial speculation it was even more disastrous. In addition to thirty lakhs of Rupees from the imperial treasury, Jai Singh had spent more than a *lakh* of his own pocket. Profuse as Jai Singh's payments were, they were straitened by the engagements he made on behalf of his master."¹

In October 1665 he was ordered to return to Auranzeb, next March he was recalled to Court. In May 1667 he made over charge of the southern command to Prince Mumtaz and Jaswant Singh. On 2nd July, 1667, the broken-hearted general died at Barchampur on his way to the capital.²

Bijapur was no doubt saved for the time being. But the doomed city was a constant prey to rival factions. Afghans, Abyssinians and Deccan Musalmans warred with the Marathas in maintaining anarchy in the State. For the next ten years the Mughals earned on their depredations within the Adilshahi territory. "Looking collectively at the Mughal gains in the Deccan during the first twenty years of Auranzeb's reign," observes Sarkar, "we find that he had in 1687 annexed Kolhapur and Bidar in the north-western corner of the kingdom of Bijapur; the fort and district of Parand in the extreme north had been gained by bribery in 1660; Gulbarga had been accepted by treaty in July 1665; and now Naldurg and Kulkarni were annexed. Thus, the vast tract of land enclosed by the Bhima and the Marjira east-west up to an imaginary line joining Kolhapur to Bidar (77° E. longitude) passed into Mughal hands, and the Imperial boundary on the south reached the north bank of the Bhima, opposite Haldurga, within striking distance of Bijapur city,—while south-eastwards it touched Malind, the fortress of the western border of the kingdom of Golkonda."³

Asr-Allah II died on 24th November 1672, and with him departed the glory of Bijapur. He was succeeded by his infant son Sikandar, a boy of four, and a period of anarchy ensued which

1. Sarkar, *Short History of Auranzeb*, pp. 345-6.

2. According to Akbar Qasr and Mirat-i-Jai, Jai Singh was poisoned by order of Auranzeb.—See Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Sherar*, p. 215 and n. 12.

3. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

ended only with the extinction of the dynasty and the independence of the Kingdom in 1686. The weakness and humiliation of Bijapur during this period are illustrated by the defection, to the Mughal camp, of 10,000 Bijapuris (Alghora, Deccan Mughlans and Marathas), and the compulsory submission of the Sultan's sister Shahar Banu (Shaharâ Banu) to the Mughal harem. Threatened of her family and people alike, this Princess left the city of her birth, on 1st July 1673, amidst the weeping of her near and dear ones, to enter the hated Span's seraglio.

Shivaji came to the rescue of distressed Bijapur with an army of 30,000 horse and provisions. He raided the Deccan Campaign. Dêr Khân's Imperial territory between the Khâra and the Narmada, burning, slaying, and plundering on all sides. Dêr Khân, the Mughal general despite great handicaps, retaliated with worse horrors at the Adl Shâh's direction. "The villages on his path were utterly sacked, all their men, both Hindus and Muslims, were taken prisoner for being sold into slavery; and the women committed suicide by jumping down into the wells with their children..... He went roamed about like a mad dog, slaying and looting with boundless equally needlessly inflicting unspeakable misery on the innocent peasants, and burning into a barren wilderness the region from Bijapur city southwards to the Krishna, and southwards to the fort between the Krishna and the Bhoma."¹ Despite all this, Dêr Khân could effect no more than his flight before him. On 11th Feb., 1683, he was recalled utterly disgraced.

Prince Maumun's weakness had proved a failure. His place was taken by Prince Asam to whom had been 16th Sept., 1686. married the Bijapur Princess above referred to. Aurangzeb wrote threatening letters to Sultan Shâhraz to make his submission and to allow the Mughal troops to march through his territory against the Marathas. But the Bijapur Prince refused these demands as the Belgians did the Kaiser at the commencement of the Great War (1814). The result was the utter devastation of Bijapur.

The devastation of the country all round and lack of supplies at last threatened the Mughal army with starvation. The price of corn rose at one time to Rs. 15 a sar! The army was in despair.

But the courage and determination of Prince Azam stirred them: "You have spoken for yourselves," he said to his officers. "Now listen to me. Muhammad Azam with his two sons and Begum will not retreat from this post of danger so long as he has life. After my death, His Majesty may come and order my corpse to be removed for burial. You, my followers, may stay or go away as you like." The counsel of war then responded as Bibar's men had done before Khirka.

The siege of Bijapur began on 1st April 1685. It dragged on for 15 months till June 1686, when Aurangzeb appeared in person. A deputation of Muslim theologians waited upon him, representing: "You are the orthodox believer, versed in Canon Law, and doing nothing without the warrant of the Qur'an and the decrees of the theologians. Tell us how you justify this unholily war against brother Muslims like us." Aurangzeb silenced them saying, "Every word you have spoken is true. I do not covet your territory. But the infidel son of the infidel infidel (Sandwich) stands at your elbow and has found refuge with you. He is troubling Muslims from here to the gates of Delhi, and their complaints reach me day and night. Surrender him to me and the next moment I shall raise the siege." On neither side was there anxiety. The siege went on.

On Sunday, 12th Sept. 1686, the Adil Shikhs capitulated. At one o'clock in the afternoon the proud Shikandar Shikha, the last of the Adil Shikhs, went down before Aurangzeb in his camp in Raudipat. His soldiers with tears and lamentations lined the streets of Bijapur as he marched past. He was well received, but shorn of his royal dignity. Shikandar was crowned at the Moghul palace with the title of Nizam, and given a pension of one lakh of rupees a year. The victorious Aurangzeb rested in the Sultan's palace for a few hours, rendered thanks to God for his triumph, and issued from its walls pardons drawn in violation of the Qur'anic injunction not to vie with the Creator in degrading life. An inscription recording the victory was also put upon the famous cannon *Mulla-i-muslimin*. Devastation started at the city of Bijapur after this. Even the water seemed to dry up in the springs. Plague followed war and swept away more than half its population. Shikandar Sultan debilitated, delirious, impoverished (in the last of Daulatshah for some time), died near Shikar on 3rd April, 1700, hardly 52 years of age. According to his last wish, "his mortal remains were carried to Bijapur and there buried at the foot of the aqueduct of his

upland gold; Shakh Fatahshah, in a modest necklace.¹

B. FALL OF THE KURT-SHAH

The Kurt-shah's kingdom of Golkonda, though inferior in no better condition than Bijapur,² had helped the latter, more³ than once in the hour of need. So long as Aurangzeb well-thought with the task of strengthening the Achshah, he thought it at least expedient to treat with Kutub Shah. But no sooner than his hands were free and strengthened by his conquest of Bijapur, he turned his current attention towards the annexation of the other Shih kingdom of the Deccan.⁴ In the eyes of Aurangzeb the worst officer of Kutub Shah was his *faizman* with infidel Shivaji, after his flight from Agra, in 1656, had received effective help from Golkonda in recovering his forts from the Mughals. In 1657 he had been again raptaciously removed at Haidarabad and promised an annual subsidy of one lakh of *kas* for the defence of his territory. Above all, the *Bethumna* *Mahdama* and *Akansa* had been allowed to degenerate the entire administration. Khadi Khan thus describes the condition that justified interference by Aurangzeb:—

"It now became known to the Emperor that Abul Hasan Kutub Shah, Sovereign of Haidarabad, had entrusted the government of his kingdom to *Mahdama* and *Akansa*, two infidels, who were doing considerable mischief, and brought great and increased troubles from them. The King himself was given up to luxury, drinking and debauchery.

Aurangzeb having turned his attention to the conquest of Haidarabad, and the subjugation of Abul Hasan, he first sent Khadi Jahid Khatibshah. After this, Faruk Muhammad Miranum with ... went and to effect the conquest of the country of Telengana.

Aurangzeb now sent Mirza Mahamud, the superintendent of his *ghazal-shah*, to Abul Hasan Kutub Shah, with a message to this effect: "It has come to our hearing that you have one very fine diamond of 150 *maul* in weight, with many other gemstones. We wish you to ascertain the value of these gems, and to send them to us for the balance of tribute due." But he told his envoy confidentially that he did not need him to deliver the two diamonds, which he did not at all want, but rather to ascertain the truth of the evil reports which had reached him. Abul Hasan swore that he had no such gems, and that if he had, he would

1. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

2. For details see *Ibid.*, pp. 254-5.

3. The strained relations between Aurangzeb and Golkonda are reflected in some interesting letters: see "Golkonda Court Letters," *R. A. Asasi*, J. B. O. R. S., XXVI, pt. 4.

have been happy to send them without any demand being made for them. . . . Such shows as his predecessors possessed had been sent to the late Emperor.

Prince Muhammad M'hammad was desirous of avoiding actual war by all means, in his power. He sent a message to Khudibek Khan (the Kughchik commander), offering peace on the following terms: 'Abul Hasan must express regret for his offences and ask forgiveness. We must remove M'hammad and Akman from the management of affairs, and place them in confinement. The persons of Shum, Kimsa, etc., which had been taken by force, upon unjust grounds, from the persons of friends of the Imperial throne, must be restored. The persons of tribute due must be forwarded without delay. The female slaves of the Dakhn, in their jails, must undergo service, regardless of the Imperial rank. No preparations for battle were made on both sides.'

When, however, Abul Hasan saw that some of his trusted allies deserted to the 'Maghals, he fled to the fort of Col-

Madanabad.

Madanabad. Following him there was great destruction and plunder at Madanabad.

'Before break of day,' writes our historian, 'the Imperial forces attacked the city, and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed, for in every part and street and market there were less upon loss of money, stuffs, carpets, horses, and elephants, belonging to Abul Hasan and his allies. Words cannot express how many women and children of M'hammad and Haidar were made prisoners, and how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured, carpets of great value, which were too heavy to carry, were cut to pieces with swords and daggers, and every bit was snatched for. Prince Shik Ali opposed efforts (unsuccessfully) to prevent the plunder, and they did their best to suppress it, but in vain. The result of the army remained orders to go with the Imperial steeds, with an escort of five or six hundred horse, to take possession of what was left of the property of Abul Hasan.'

Then, Khali Khan proceeds to tell us, a deposition came from

Abul Hasan to reach upon Prince M'hammad.

A Truce.

'most humbly and earnestly begging forgiveness of the sins which he had and had not committed. . . . After a good deal of negotiation, the Prince took pity upon Abul Hasan and the inhabitants of the place. He accepted his proposals, upon certain conditions. A tribute of one liver and twenty lines of silver was to be paid; in addition to the usual annual tribute. M'hammad and Akman, his two brothers, and the chief officers of the army, were to be imprisoned and deprived of all authority. The fort of Shum and the persons of Kimsa, and other divisions which had been captured, were to remain in the hands of the Imperials, and Abul'

Heaven was to not be deprived of his offerings from Anungweh.¹

While these negotiations were proceeding, 'some women of great influence in the Karen, without the knowledge of Abul Hasan, laid a plot for the murder of Ishikama and Akama. . . . While the two doomed witches were proceeding from the *darbar* to their own houses, a party of slaves attacked them and killed them.'² Many *Arakamas* lost their lives and property on that day. The heads of the two brothers were cut off, and were sent to Prince Shih Alam by the hands of a discreet person.³

Shih Alam returned to Anungweh's camp at Sholiper on 7th June, 1866. Buzpur fell on the 12th September, 1867, and on the 12th January following (1867) the Emperor arrived within two miles of Golconda. The fort, surrounded with a strong granite wall over four miles in length and of great thickness, was further defended by 27 semi-circular bastions, 'each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid blocks of granite cemented together, some of them weighing more than a ton.' Within it were numerous of nobles, bankers, temples, mosques, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines, stables, and cultivated fields, and space enough to accommodate the whole population of Hyderabad in times of danger. The whole was encircled by a deep ditch 15 feet broad.

Regular siege operations were commenced on the 7th February, 1867. Anungweh's charge-sheet against the ruler of Golconda reads as follows:—

'The will deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical wretches; oppressing and afflicting the harmless, widows, and other help men; openly going himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day, making no distinction between rightfulness and falsehood, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion, seeking obstacles not in defence of rightness, want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cost a cottage upon

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 330-31.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

the Holy Book in the right bath of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discreet men. His attention had been paid to them, moreover it had lately become known that a *Lot* of *Parwanas* had been sent to the military *Sandaks*. That in his dissidence and worldliness, no regard had been paid to the equity of his acts, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or in the next!

Whatever the plan, Auzangah was determined to lock up Golconda. So, when Prince Shah Alam showed indications to submit and *Wazir* on behalf of Abdul Haqan, he was ordered into the royal presence, his *emblems* and *signs* were confiscated, and he was imprisoned. It was seven years before Auzangah's mother recovered his liberty.

Day by day and week by week, the approaches (to the fort) were pushed forward under the direction of *Chingiz* the *Pan* *Lang*, but they were encountered with great daring by the besieged under the command of *Shah Nafiz*, *Shah* *Khin* *Lang*, otherwise called *Abur* *Rasul*, and others. The fighting was desperate and many were killed on both sides. . . . After one sharp encounter, in which a rally of the garrison was driven back with loss, *Shah* *Mirza*, *Shah* *Nafiz*, and others deserted Abdul Haqan, and came over to the besiegers, where Auzangah greeted to them suitable *manas* and *tilas*!

The days continued for one eight months, the *Mughals* suffering heavy losses. Finally, when about 5 o'clock in the morning of 21st September, 1857, the *Imperialists* entered and captured the fort, it was testimony that decided the fate of Abdul Haqan and not the military superiority of the *Mughals*. As *Khin* *Khin* puts it, "Several times the valour of the assailants carried them to the top of the walls, but the watchfulness of the besieged frustrated their efforts; as they were away their lines in vain and the fortress remained unshaken. But the fortune of Akbar at length prevailed, and after a siege of eight months and ten days the place fell into his hands, but by good fortune and by force of sword and spear."

Abdullah Pan, nicknamed *Sardar* *Khin*, who was a fortune-hunting Afghan, and had successively broken

Fall of Golconda—
Oct 21 Sept. 1857

both with *Biqar* and the *Mughals*, now did the same with Abdul Haqan, and opened the gates of Golconda for a bribe. In noble and heroic contrast to this petty buying treachery stand the conspicuous loyalty of *Abdur* *Rasul*, and the dignified non-chalance of Abdul Haqan himself in the hour of their discomfiture.

"Of all the nobles of Abul Hasan," wrote HIND Khat, "the one who never forsook him until the fall of the place, and who throughout carried himself in an heroic manner, was Mirza Khat Lari, or, as he was also called, Abul Hasan. Sprung on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by one or twelve followers, he rushed to the open space through which the Imperial forces were passing on. Although his followers were dispersed, he stood, like a dog or water falling into the sea or an arrow at death struggling in the eye of the sun, there himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with unconquerable fury and desperation, showing that he would fight to the death for Abul Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he secured so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone and the skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded, and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars in the sky. His horse also was covered with wounds, and reared under his weight, so he gave the reins to the front, and by great exertion kept his seat."

When at last he was borne down by sheer exhaustion, Abul Hasan was picked up unscathed by the Imperial officers. "A Hindu Lord made the earlier known to Aurangzeb, who had heard of Abul Hasan's courage and courage and loyalty, and he personally ordered that two surgeons, one a European, the other a Hindu, should be sent to attend the wounded man, who was to make daily reports of his condition to Aurangzeb. The Emperor sent Bahadur Khan, and told him that if Abul Hasan had possessed only one more servant devoted like Abul Hasan, it would have taken much longer to capture the fortress. The surgeons reported that they had counted seventy wounds, besides the many wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. Although one eye was not injured, it was probable that he would lose the sight of both. They were directed carefully to attend to his care. At the end of seven days, the doctors reported that he had opened one eye, and spoken a few faltering words expressing a hope of recovery. Aurangzeb sent a message to him, forgiving him his offences, and desiring him to send by about son Abul Khat with his other sons, that they might receive suitable rewards and honors, and return thanks for the pardon granted to their father, and for the moments and other favors. When the gracious message reached that devoted and pious hero, he jumped out a few words of astonishment and gratitude, but he said that there was little hope of his recovery. If, however, it pleased the Almighty to spare him and give him a second life, it was not likely that he would be fit for service, but should be ever be capable of service, he felt that no one else but under the will of Abul Hasan, and had chosen as his deputy, could enter the service of King Aurangzeb (Aurangzeb). On hearing that

words, a crowd was seen to pass over the face of the iceberg; but he kindly said, "When he is quite well, let me know." Most of Abdul Khasak's property had been plundered, but much as was left was given over to him.

"In the account given by Khali Khali is true, the last King of Golconda, whatever his other shortcomings, acted with a composure and dignity worthy of the master of such a servant. When he heard that all was over, 'He went into his harem to comfort his women, to ask pardon of them, and take leave of them. Then, though his heart was sad, he controlled himself, and went to his reception room, and took his seat upon the mat and waited for the coming of his unexpected guests. When the time for taking his meals arrived, he ordered the food to be served up. As Fakhrah Khali and others arrived, he saluted them all, and never for a moment lost his dignity. With perfect self-control he received them with courtesy, and spoke to them with warmth and elegance. . . . And Shahn called for his horse and accompanied the ambassador, carrying a great wealth of pearls upon his back. When he was introduced into the presence of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah he took off his neck-lace of pearls and presented it to the Prince in a most graceful way. The Prince took it, and placing his hand upon his back he did what he could to console and encourage him. He then conducted him to the presence of Aurangzeb, who also received him very courteously. After a few days the Emperor sent him to the fortress of Daulatabad, and granted a suitable allowance for providing him with food, clothing and other necessities. Others were appointed to take possession of Akbar's house and his relics.

The property of Abel Haan which was recovered after its dispersion amounted to eight and fifty-one thousand baer and two aers and fifty-three thousand rapers, altogether six aers, eighty leav and ten thousand rapers, besides jewels, silver articles, and vessels of gold and silver. The total in aers was one ari, fifteen baer, sixteen leav and a haaber, which was the sum entered on the records.¹⁰

Interview with THE MONTAGUES

In keeping with the fall of Hesper (1686) and Colorado (1687) we anticipated the history of half a century. During the

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

period the seeds of a mighty power were sown that was to prove fatal to the Empire whose history we have been tracing. Shihajī's expedition, in 1628, before the great storm of Kōshimurō, the Imperial officer, and Bimbodā Kōwa, the Bijapur commander, was indeed an act of expedience. The combination between the Empire and the Adil-shah, as we have already seen, was not to last long. The Maratha chief that was to arise between these two powers was so placed geographically that it could successively begin war with either to the final destruction of both. Shivaji, the embodiment of this new power, though he did not live to witness the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda, had, while making use of both against the Moghals, so learned them that their fall was only a question of time. The history of this period taken in all its phases is very complex and intriguing. But we shall narrate here only such parts of it as have a direct bearing on our principal theme. It would be convenient to study the Moghul-Maratha relations from the angle of Maratha leadership, which is the only way to avoid confusion. The rest of Maratha history is not relevant to our purpose.

The personal history of Shihajī, father of Shivaji, need not be stated : details are long. While I have already introduced him to us in the following passage—

"Nasir-ul-Mulk was in confinement in the fort of Gingee, but rebelled. Balu and other nobles of Nasir-ul-Mulk, had found a boy of the Mughal's family, to whom they gave the title of Nasir-ul-Mulk. They had got possession of some of the Mughal's (Ahmadnagar) territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government. Now that the Emperor (Shah Jahan) was near Deccanized, he determined to send Khosrow-khan, and Shajahan Khan, at the head of three different divisions, to punish these rebels. . . .¹ The object of the whole campaign was that Shivaji should be captured with the young Mughal. He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khan and the Imperial general. — Accordingly the forts of Junar, Tanjore, Tirupuram, Marri, Jetham, Jund, and Marwar, were delivered over to Khosrow-khan. — Khosrow, under the orders of Adil Khan, placed the young Mughal in the hands of Khosrow-khan and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Shivaji.²

Shivaji's estate at this time, held under the Adil Shah, consisted of the Purna district, "from Chikkar to Jodhpur, South, Shirwal, Wai, and Jodhpur, or a tract bounded on the west by the Ghats, on the north

1. Shivaji
[1628-29]

1. *Atcharya-samra*, I. & D., op. cit., pp. 151-2.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

by the Ghod river, on the east by the Bidma and on the south by the Nira river.¹ This was the sanctuary, worked or radius of Shivaji's future power and growth.

1644 was a year of crisis in the history of Raipur: it was also the year of Shivaji's opportunity. He seized Terni and its treasure of two lakhs of *dan*, and five miles east of it built a new fort called Bilagadh. Further conquests, all in the Raipur territory, followed, leading to Shivaji's imprisonment as a hostage. Shivaji in his distress approached the Mughal prince Murad Baksh to secure the release of his father. There was some diplomatic correspondence between prince Murad and Shivaji on the matter, in the course of the year 1644. Through whatever agency² Shivaji was released at the end of that year, and Shivaji kept quiet till 1648. During the latter year he captured Jivla from the Moris, which considerably added to his power.³

Shivaji's activities are thus characterized by the hostile historian Kaji Kaji:

'He was distinguished in his talks for courage and intelligence; and for craft and victory he was renowned a sharp son of the devil, the killer of lions. In that country, where all the hills rise to the sky, and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an insurmountable shield. Kaji Kaji of Raipur was startled by schemes, under which he suffered for a long time, and great confusion arose in his territory. . . . Shivaji seeing his country left without a ruler, boldly and widely spread it and seized it, with the permission of some other rajas. This was the beginning of that system of violence which he and his descendants have spread over the rest of the Konkan and all the territory of the Deccan. . . . He assembled a large force of Maratha soldiers and plunderers, and set about robbing temples. . . . Evil days fell upon the kingdom of Raipur in the time of Sikandar Ak. Kaji Kaji II, whose kingdom was questioned and who ruled when a minor in the house of his father. The operation of Aurangzeb against that country when he was

1. Sachse, *Shivaji*, p. 33.

2. Sarkar criticizes Shivaji's release was secured by the timely mediation of Terna Kaji and the help of Bhaskarji Kaji, two leading gholis of Raipur, and not by the intervention of the Mughal Emperor at Prince Murad—*ibid.*, pp. 481.

3. The domination of Jivla not only opened to Shivaji a door for the conquest of the north and the west, but brought a very important accession to his strength, in the form of many thousands of Maratha warriors from among the subjects, and former retainers of Ghodrao Pao. In short, the recruiting ground for these excellent fighters along the Sahyadri range was now decided. The Marathas had accumulated a vast treasure in eight generations of unbroken and expanding rule, and the whole of it fell into Shivaji's hands.—*ibid.*, p. 47.

a Prince in the rage of his father, brought grief and upon the country and other troubles also arose. Slowly day by day increased his strength and reduced all the forts of the country, so that in space of time he became a man of power and renown. He built several forts also in these parts, so that altogether he had forty forts all of which were well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Boldly taxing the husband of nobles, he became the most hated chief of the Dekhan.¹

Nevertheless, the same sharp critic does not fail to add, "But he made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the *Book of God*, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred *Kurān* came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his faithful man followers. When the women of any *Hindū* or *Mohammedan* were taken prisoner by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until the relations came with suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found and that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upon her as being the property of his master, and appropriated her to himself. He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people, *Pāṭṭa-Sikka* (copper money), and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them; but other articles, gold and silver, jewels or unjewels, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be by them paid over to Shihāb's Government."²

Shahjī for a long time kept peace with the Mughals after because he did not feel strong enough to anta-

(1) *First Chōb* gains the Empire and Baypur at the same time, or because of the vigilance of Aurangzeb's

viceroyalty of the Deccan. When, however, on the death of Muhammad Adil Shih (4 Nov. 1656), Aurangzeb began to mobilise for an attack on Baypur, Shihjī offered to join the Imperials on certain terms; evidently the legitimisation of his usurpations in Baypur territory. But Aurangzeb hesitated, and when the war broke out, Baypur was over Shihjī to its own side.

In March 1657 two of Shihjī's Maratha officers raided the Mughal territory and "carried devastation and alarm to the very gates of *Ahmednagar*, the most noble city in Mughal Deccan,"

¹ J. E. B. D., op. cit., VII, pp. 226d.
² Ibid., pp. 262-63.

While Shirdi himself stole into Jaunpur city, slaughtered the guards, and carried off 500,000 *kas*, 200 horses, besides jewellery and rich clothing. Aurangzeb sent Nizam Khan after Shirdi ordering him to "pursue the Marathas and extirpate them." The vigorous measures that were being taken were interrupted, first by the rising season, and then by the War of Succession commenced by Salih Jahan's death in September 1657. Shajahan made peace with Aurangzeb before he left for the north, and Shirdi also followed suit. In reply to Shirdi's embassy Aurangzeb wrote diplomatically: "Though your offences do not deserve pardon, I forgive you as you have repented. You propose that if you are granted all the villages belonging to your home (i.e. Shirdi's old style) together with the forts and territory of Koshim, after the Imperialists have seized the old Nizam-shahi territory now in the charge of Adil Shah,—you will send Sona Pandit as your envoy to my Court and a contingent of 500 horse under one of your officers to serve me, and you will protect the Imperial frontiers. You are called upon to send Shirdi, and your proposal will be granted."¹ At the same time he wrote to Mir Junda and Adil Shah: "Attend to it, as the son of a dog (meaning Shirdi) is waiting for his opportunity." Ped-gan was also satisfied as a base of operations against Purna. But the Succession War of 1658-59 gave Shirdi the needed respite, so far as the Mughals were concerned. It was during this period that the ingrady of Alau Khan, the Bhopal general sent against Shirdi, took place at Fardipgarh. The controversy that has raged round this incident need not distract us here.² Our next incident is that relating to Shajahan Khan.

Greatly encouraged by his triumph over Alau Khan Shirdi

continued his activities on all sides. Aurangzeb

(a) Shirdi after his second separation (July 1655) had
Khan. Offences.

appointed his uncle Shajahan Khan viceroy of the Deccan. He now directed him to pursue Shirdi and put him down. "Amra-i amara (Shajahan Khan)," according to Khafi Khan, "married, in accordance with these orders, from Aurangabad at the end of Jumada-ul second 1056 (and of January, 1655 A.D.), towards Puna and Chikori, which in those days was Shirdi's place of abode and security."³ At the same time Shirdi

1. Mirza Asa, Letter 5—cited by Sarkar, op. cit., p. 81.

2. See Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 80, 81.

3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 82.

Jashur (now near Sahibul Khân) launched another offensive on behalf of Bijapur from the south against Shirdi, and invaded Peshwa (May, 1680). Though Jashur proved 'both fool and traitor' in luring Shirdi away from Peshwa, another Bijapur force followed up and took Peshwa 'in a trice'. It was at the scene of this flight of Shirdi from Peshwa to Vaidgheer—that the brave Biji Prabhu (Deshmukh of Haridwar selbst) fought his heroic rearguard action at the Thermopylae of Mandolohar, and died with his knees seven hundred ! Whore.

'Death descended, and tall figures stooped the ground
Like trees in a cyclone'.

Shayista Khân, too, relentlessly pursued his campaign. But, 'the daring firebreather Shirdi ordered his followers to attack and plunder the baggage of Akbar's enemy's army wherever they met with it. When the Akbar was informed of this, he appointed 4000 horse, under experienced officers, to protect the baggage. But every day, and in every month, Shirdi's Dakhins swarmed upon the baggage, and falling suddenly upon it like Comanches, they carried off horses, cloths, mules, and whatever they could seize, until they became aware of the approach of the Mughals. The Imperial forces pursued them, and harried them, so that they lost courage, and giving up fighting for fight, they dispersed. At length they reached Pura and Shirpur, the place built by that dog (Shirdi). The Imperial forces took both these places and held them'. The next great fortress to be captured after a great struggle was Chikna (Aug. 1680) which was of considerable strategic importance to the Mughals in covering the retreat to Ahmadnagar. This followed desultory warfare during the years 1681-82, ending with the famous coup of Shirdi on Shayista Khân's camp at Pura on 5th April 1683. On this occasion, says Prof. Barker, "Shirdi dealt a masterly blow at the Mughals,—a blow whose cleverness of design, neatness of execution and completeness of success created in the Mughal Court and camp as much terror of his person and belief in his possession of magical powers, as his coup against Afid Khân had done among the Europeans. He surprised and straggled the Mughal vanguard of the Domain in the heart of his camp, in his very bed-

1. *Akbarnama* Ghos, Biji Prabhu. In this edition, however, the poet has changed the ending of the stanza.

2. Khafi Khân, E. & O., op. cit., pp. 222-3.

chamber, within the inner ring of his body-guards and female slaves."¹ The details of this incident are only of legendary interest. The earliest reader may find the Muslim account in Khidr Khān's narrative² and the Marathi version in the *Sahibnāma* or *Chhatra-bākhar*.³ But there is one aspect of it which is worthy of being pointed out here, viz., the part played by Raja Jaiwant Singh.

Cunha da Cunha, a Portuguese biographer of Sher Shah who wrote his account in 1605, states :

"Jaswantsingh was a Gentile. Sherah took advantage of this (fact) for he was a (Hindu) and sent him one night a rich present of precious stones, a large quantity of gold and silver with many rich and precious goods. With these marvellous presents Sherah sought and seduced that fornicator. The message was as follows : "Though Your Highness has the presence of a Sovereign King and (now) also that of the General of so powerful an Empire, if you recollect that I am a Gentile like you, and if you take account of what I have done, you will find that all I have done, was due to the need for the honour and working of your gods whose temples have been destroyed everywhere by the Muslims. If the issue of temples have preoccupied ever all the gods of the world and even over his soul, I have for the same cause (sacrificed) more or many times . . . I offer you in the name of the gods themselves these trifles I do not guess that it please all your high caste has, for honour and loyalty. To defend those whose salt and water you eat and drink. I leave, moreover, that you hold the right of the Great Mogul and cannot on that account, take the side of another, but you may be assured that you will not fail in the loyalty professed by your Christian family (European) or in the respect due to your gods that I may join with the people of Shahjahan, to be able to do as I like (and so neither for account), and to do to him, without the knowledge of the Muslims, what I can."

"Jaswantsingh was less devout and more ambitious and as did not attend to these temples; he was much obliged for the presents and still more for the promises for which he considered with Sherah promising not to obstruct his cause and even to combine at what he might design against the Muslims."

The European version of the Shajasta Khān incident is contained in the sequel to the above passage (pages 66-71) : "When this opportunity," says Khidr Khān, "was reported to the Emperor, he passed censure both upon the Amir and Raja Jaiwant. The Sahibnāma of the Dehli and the command of the forces employed

1. *Sahibnāma*, op. cit., p. 36.

2. K. & P., op. cit., pp. 269-71.

3. See, *Shah Jahan-nāma*, pp. 224-25.

4. See, *Foreign Biographies of Sherah*, pp. 414. Cf. Munshi, *Shah Jahan-nāma*, p. 224.

against Shirdi was given to Prince Muhammad Miran. The *Asaf-i-Jamini* was recalled, but a subsequent order (1st December 1683) sent him to be Subadar of Bengal. Mahanaga Jamani was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince.¹ Does this imply Jamani Singh?

During the period of the change of viceroys and commanders, Shirdi indulged in another adventure, viz., a raid on Surat. 'The greatest importance of the Orient and the richest jewel of the Mogul'

His object in doing this was, according to de Guinda, 'to plunder the riches of the wealthiest city of the east to show Sharghan and the Mogul how little he thought of their power and army'. The same writer tells us, 'some confused news of his intention reached Surate but caused a great laughter as hundred and eight thousand cavalry were encamped in the very territories of which Shirdi had become master'. The Miran, however, entered like 'a furious tiger in a herd of cows'. 'There was such a confusion in the city among the Mirans, Bakhars, Gansars, and all other Mirans as will not be easy to describe. Men, women, and children ran naked without knowing where and to whom. But no one was in the peril of life, for it was the strict order of Shirdi that unless resistance was offered no one should be killed, and no one retained more property'. Shirdi's men then entered the houses and stripping the richest silk and silver stuffs, took only ropes of gold, each of which was worth sixteen of silver....Neither the quantity of money he got nor the speed with which it was conveyed by 600 bullocks is credible.²

M. de Thiersot observes, 'Shirdi's Miran entered the Town and plundered it for the space of four days burning several houses. Now that the English and Dutch used their quarters from the pillage, by the vigorous defence they made, and by means of the mirrors they planted, which Shirdi would not venture upon, having none of his own.'³

The Mogul governor of Surat, Inayat Khan, shut himself up in the fort, and 'the governor's men continued to fire all night

1. K. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 376.

2. Guinda de Guinda in *Ind.*, op. cit., p. 72.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

4. For ordinary accounts see Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

5. *Ibid.*, op. cit., pp. 74-5.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

long, but more damage was done to the town than the enemy.... Everything of beauty existing in Surat was that day reduced to ashes and many considerable merchants lost all that the enemy had not plundered, though the terrible fire, narrowly escaping with their lives. Two or three Russian merchants lost several millions and the total loss was estimated at 30 millions. . . . He (Serdy) and his followers appropriated only the most valuable goods and distributed the less valuable things, which could only hamper their retreat, among the poor, whereby many acquired much more that day had lost through fire and pillage. . . (Serdy) departed at the first glaze of daylight, delighted to have plucked such a fine feather from Aurangzeb's tail.¹

AFTER THE SACK

"The Governor of Surate reported the above-mentioned incident to the Great Mogul in such a manner that when it was read and heard it caused worse than it (actually) was. As the advantage the Great Mogul derived from Surate, was enormous, and the Governor had informed him that all was lost, and the merchants were managing for a change of place on account of the want security of Surate, he resolved to remedy every thing by sending an army that would totally destroy Serdy and destroy the merchants. He ordered that they should be assessed duties for three years.² during which period nothing should be paid for import or export. This oppressed and relieved all, for it was a very great favour in view of the large capital employed by these Gentles in trade. The result of these people is so great that when the Great Mogul sent for a loan of four millions to Begum Daramulata Yemsa, he answered that His Majesty should name the coin and the sum would immediately be paid in it. There are in Surate the following coins; eight half and quarter (rupies) of gold, the same of silver. There are pagodas of gold and silver of silver, and in any of these eight (coins) he offered to render four millions. What is still more surprising is that the major part of the Begum's request was executed at Surate and this (offer) was (made) four years after the sack by Serdy. So much had already been accumulated and so considerable had been the profits of those three years when all was lost. The Mogul usually repays such loans with the same, and it is done with such punctuality that he goes for the same asking whatever sum he wants, for the subjects deliver their money in accordance with the degree of satisfaction that they get from the king."

In a letter to the Director of the Dutch East India Company, dated 4th August, 1664, their Governor-General states: "King Aurangzeb has ordered the town of Surat to be surrounded by a

1 See, op. cit. François Valentyn's account, pp. 380-412.

2 Ibid. (Chron. de Goa), pp. 294-5.

stone wall and has granted a year's exemption of tolls and duties to the merchants, the Company and the English being also included. This exemption was to begin from March 16th 1682, and we calculate that the Company will then gain a sum of £ 50,000 (£45,000) so that this enterprise has brought us profit."

The Governor Inayat Khān was replaced by Ghāna Dīn Khān (Shivaji) had arrived at Surat at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 6th January 1684, he left the place at 10 a.m. on Sunday, the 13th "Thursday and Friday nights," says one account, "were the most terrible nights for fire. The fire turned the night into day, as before the stroke in the day-time had turned day into night, rising so thick that it darkened the sun like a great cloud."

These activities of Shivaji alarmed Aurangzeb who at once despatched able generals to tackle with him. (iv) Treaty of Khair Khān. Khair Khān writes, "Despatches arrived from the Emperor" June, 1685. Prince Muazzam to the effect that Shivaji was

growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and castles. He had seized the ports of Javal, Pithal and others near Surat, and attacked the pilgrims bound to Mecca. He had built several forts by the seashore, and had entirely interrupted maritime intercourse. He had also struck copper coins (shikā-i pad) and issued in the form of Edicts (Mādhallā) Jawans had endeavoured to suppress him, but without avail. Rājā Jai Singh (and Dīn Khān) were sent to join the armies fighting against him."

This was indeed hard times for Shivaji, for both Jai Singh

1. The Death leaves accounted to £ 20,000 (18700), *Ibid.*, pp. 371-2.

2. "Jai Singh's name," writes latter, "had been one of undoubted repute, from the day when he, as captain of twelve years he was 60, involved his own appointment in the Mughal army (1617). Since then, he had fought under the Imperial banner in every part of the empire, from Baluch in Central Asia to Bengal in the Deccan, from Guzerat in the west to Mewar in the east. . . . as a diplomatist he had secured to a nation comprising vast territories in the East. Whenever there was a difficult or delicate work to be done, the Emperor had only to turn to Jai Singh. A man of infinite tact and politeness, an expert in the court-manners courtesy of the Muslims, a master of Urdu and Persian, besides Urdu and the Rajasthani dialect, he was an ideal master of the composite army of Afghans and Turks, Rajputs and Marathas; that followed the ancient banner of the sovereign of Delhi. . . . His courtesy and polished manners, his moderation of temper and cool calculating policy were in striking contrast with the capricious generosity, reckless daring, blunt straightforwardness, and aggressive jealousy which we are apt to associate with the Rajasthani character."—*ibid.*, pp. 122-23.

and Dair Kider' were veteran generals and had come with an even larger number of soldiers than the first. The Singh organized a wholesale campaign so as to encourage Shikhs from every possible quarter. In this he tried to secure the cooperation of Ajit Singh, the Khairi prince on the west-coast, the petty rulers and chieftains, the Sadhs and also tried to corrupt Sherif's supporters. The heart and spine of this mammoth design was to capture Peshawar where Shikhs happened to be at this time.

"When Sir (the Singh) arrived there," writes Corns de Ganda, "even Shikhs could not help being impressed, for besides the 400,000 cavalry, the number of men and animals that followed along (although) small, could neither be counted nor measured. There went with it 500 elephants, 5 million camels, 10 millions more of horses, more of mules, oxen and elephants without number. The first thing that Shikhs did was to keep this general in the same way as he had done in the case of the others. He sent him a very large and very valuable present during his journey. The Khairi refused both and refused to follow Shikhs that he had not come to receive presents but to subdue him, and for this cause and he asked him to yield and avoid many deaths, as he would make him yield by force. The revolution persecuted Shikhs. The days went on, and Ganda continued "the Khairi had brought with him a large number of heavy artillery of such a caliber that each cannon was drawn by forty pairs of oxen, but they were all so well for bombarding a fortress of this kind; for it was not a fortress of man, but of the author of Nature (God), and (therefore) it also had bombards or (stronger) laid and worked that they heaved at both, wind and even the thunderbolt. The place at the top, where the men continued with the guns, was more than half a league in breadth, separated with land for many years and the most saline water that, after rising from the mountains through the hill to fertilize the places with which it was covered."

It was in the defense of this fort that Master Singh, another heroic captain of Shikhs, to be remembered with Biji Prabhu and Shikhs Mahanand, laid down his life together with three hundred his devoted Shikhs. The garrison, says Barker, "with a courage worthy of the mother of Bravado, the Spartan, sustained the struggle."

1 His proper name was Jai Singh Daudhail. He had served under Prince Salbhan Singh during the War of Succession, and was with him during the Afghan campaign. He was the founder of Dera Ghazi Khan in Baluchistan. He died at Amrohtsar in 1855-56.

2 See, op. cit., pp. 10-4. The highest point of this fort is 4,500 ft above sea-level and more than 2,000 ft above the plain at its foot. It is really a double fort—Peshawar and Valmughah (also called Bichandighah). It was by seizing Valmughah that Sir Duple in 1849 and the English in 1817 made Peshawar accessible for the Marathas.—Clarke, op. cit., pp. 114-5.

gle, undismayed by their leader's fall and wounding. "What though one man, Ishida Mago is dead? We are as brave as he, and we shall fight with the same courage." (Sobushu, 43-44; T, 35)¹²

But the struggle was in vain. Consequently, in the words of Kôshû Kôshi, Shiryû went some midnight over to Mago Jai Singh begging forgiveness for his offences, promising the surrender of several forts which he still held and proposing to pay a visit to the Rôjû. But the Rôjû knowing well his craft and falsehood, gave directions for pressing the attack more vigorously, until the intelligence was brought that Shiryû had come out of the fortress. Some confidential emissaries now came from him and confirmed his expressions of submission and repentance with the most elegant oratory.

The Rôjû promised him security for his life and honour, upon condition of his going to wait on the Emperor, and of agreeing to enter his into his service. He also promised him the grant of a high reward, and made preparations for suitably receiving him. Shiryû then approached him with great humility. Mago and his menall to observe him, and he also had some armed Emissaries to provide against treachery. The emissary uttered a message to say that if Shiryû submitted, finally,¹³ gave up his forts, and consented to their destruction, his petition for forgiveness would be granted by the Emperor. If he did not accept these terms he had better return and prepare to enter the war. When Shiryû received the message, he said with great humility that he knew his life and honour were safe if he made his submission. The Rôjû then sent a person of higher rank to bring him to wait honour.

"When Shiryû returned, the Rôjû arose, embraced him, and tasted him new brandy. Shiryû then with a doignant sigh of shame, clasped his hands and said, "I have served as a guilty slave to such forefathers and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will remain over my great sins with the country of the Kôryû to the Emperor's officers, and I will send you my son to enter the Imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed, like other servants of the State, who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Wherever and whenever my services are required, I will, on receiving orders discharge my duty loyally." The Rôjû cheered him up, and sent him to Ishi Kôshi.

"After direction had been given for the cessation of the siege, seven thousand peasant, poor, women and children, came out of the fort. All that they could not carry away became the property of the Government, and the fort was taken possession of by the forces. Ishi Kôshi presented Shiryû with a sword, etc. He then took him back to the Rôjû who proposed him fully a noble. . . . and changed his surname, of safety

and inseparable treatment. Shiva, with ready tact, bowed to the trend of an instant, and promised to render faithful service. When the question about the land Shiva was to possess under pledge, and of his own's home, arose under consideration, Raja Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, asking him to send for Shiva and the grant of a robe to him, and awarded mantras.¹ A man-bearer arrived with the jewels and a robe, and Shiva² was occupied at receiving largess and honour.

A decade then arose about the forts, and it was finally settled that out of the fortive forts which he possessed, the tops of twenty-five should be given up, with their remains, amounting to ten lots of four, or forty lots of eight. Twelve small forts, with suitable arrangement, were to remain in the possession of Shiva's people. Further, he was, a boy of eight years old, to whom more a number of 1000 had been granted at Raja Jai Singh's suggestion, was to proceed to Court with the Raja, attended by a suitable retinue. Shiva himself, with his family, was to remain in the hills, and endeavour to remove the prosperity of his subject country. Whenever he was summoned on Imperial service, he was to attend. On his being allowed to depart, he received a robe, home, etc.³

In addition to the above terms, Shiva's further engaged: "If lands yielding 4 lakhs of kas a year in the lowlands of Kankar and 8 lakhs of kas a year in the uplands (Bilghat, Bijnapur), are granted to me by the Emperor and I am assured by an Imperial decree that the possession of these lands will be confirmed in me after the expected Moghal conquest of Bijnapur, then I agree to pay to the Emperor 40 lakhs of kas in 13 yearly instalments."

These lands were to be wrested from Bijnapur by Shiva himself, and Barker observes, "Here we detect the shrewdness of Jai Singh's policy in throwing a bone of perpetual contention between Shiva and the Rulers of Bijnapur. As he wrote to the Emperor, 'This policy will result in a threefold gain: first, we get 40 lakhs of kas, or 2 Arwas of Bijnapur; secondly, Shiva will be liberated from Bijnapur; thirdly, the regional army will be relieved from the arduous task of campaigning in these two broken and jungle regions as Shera will himself undertake the task of expelling the Bijnapuri garrisons from them.' In return for it, Shera also agreed to assist the Moghals in the service of Bijnapur with 2,000 cavalry of his own Sherah's's command and 7,000 expert infantry under his own command."⁴

This splendid achievement was accomplished by Jai Singh in

¹ E. & D. op. cit. VII, pp. 201-02.

² Barker, op. cit. pp. 140-41.

less than three months. In the *Rajpur* campaign of Jai Singh, which we have already described, Shrivaj faithfully carried out his promise. Yet, dissatisfied of the wily Marathas that Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, "Now that Adil Shah and Qutb Shah have united in mischief, it is necessary to win Shrivaj's heart by all means and to send him to Northern India to have audience With your Majesty"¹

To cut a long story short, after much diplomatic discussion and most solemn assurances on the part of Jai Singh as to his safety and honour, Shrivaj set out for Agra, to the Imperial Court. His disapprobation there and his romantic escape are familiar to every school-boy in India. There are several versions of the details,² but the following account given by Khair Khin ought to serve our purpose :—

"After giving Shrivaj every assurance of a kind and gracious reception, he (Jai Singh) made himself responsible for his safety, and sent him to Court. News of Shrivaj's arrival was brought on the festival of the afternoon (5th year of the reign, 1688 A. D.) was being celebrated. It was ordered that Kaurav Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, with Mubshir Khin, should go out to meet and conduct that well-matched letter to Agra. On the 15th Jai Singh, 1688, Shrivaj, and his son of nine years old, had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. He made an offering of 500 *mirgals* and 4000 *rupees*, altogether 50,000 *rupees*. By the royal command he was placed in the position of a *pani-hakiri*. But his son, a boy of eight (7) years, had previously (previously?) been made a *pani-hakiri* and *Wazir*, one of his relations, who had rendered great service to Raja Jai Singh in his campaign against *Scorpio*, had been advanced to the same dignity, so that Shrivaj had a claim on entering into the dignity of a *haz-hakiri* (7000). While Jai Singh had fastened Shrivaj with promises, but as the Raja knew the Emperor to have a strong feeling against Shrivaj, he actually refrained from making known the hope he had held out. The *haz-hakiri*, or reception of Shrivaj, had not been such as he expected. He was annoyed, and so, before the noon and *pani*³ and *chupatti*, which were ready for presentation to him, could be presented, he complained to Ram Singh that he was disappointed. The Kaurav tried to pacify him, but without effect.⁴ When his disappointed feeling came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dressed with

1. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

2. For a special study of this subject read Deshpande, *The Advancement of the Empire of Shrivaj the Great from Agra*, (Poona, 1928).

3. It is said that when the Emperor enquired as to what was the matter, Kaurav Ram Singh diplomatically answered, "The tiger is a wild beast of the jungle, and both appeared by the heat of a place like this and has taken ill."

little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty, and was taken to a house outside the city near to the house of Kijo Jai Singh, as had been arranged by Kaurer Rām Singh. A letter was sent to Kijo Jai Singh, informing him of what had passed, and Seelā was instructed to come to the Royal presence next the Kijā's arrival and attend should serve. His son was ordered to attend the presence in the company of Rām Singh.

After Seelā returned angry and disappointed from the royal presence to his house, orders were given to the details to place guards round it. Seelā, reflecting upon his former deeds and his present condition, was sadly troubled by the state of his affairs. His thoughts of nothing else but of delivering himself by some crafty plan from his present position. His subtle mind was not long in contriving a scheme. From the beginning he kept up a show of friendship and intimacy with the astro, and with Kaurer Rām Singh. He sent them presents of Danish products, and, by supposing confidence for his past conduct, he won them over to advocate the acceptance of his scheme and repentance.

Afterwards he feigned to be ill, and groined and sighed aloud. Complaining of pain in the liver and spleen, he took to his bed, and, as if prostrated with consumption or fever, he sought remedies from the physicians. For some time he carried on this action. At length he made known his recovery. He sent presents to his doctors and students, food to the Brahmins, and presents of gold and money to ready Brahmins and Shudras. For this purpose he had provided large baskets covered with paper. These being filled with treasures of all sorts, were sent to the houses of the astro and to the schools of Jūliā. Two or three small boxes were procured, and, under the pretext of being presents to Brahmins, they were sent to a place appointed fourteen fars from the city, in charge of some of his people, who were gentry or his place. A devoted companion, who resembled him in height and figure, took his place upon the road, and Seelā's gold ring was placed upon his hand. He was directed to throw a few pieces of muslin over his head, but to display the ring he wore upon his hand, and when any one came by, to sigh to be asleep. With his son, got into two baskets, and were carried on, it being pretended that the baskets contained offerings intended for the Brahmins and Jūliā of Mathura.¹

After various adventures Shivrā returned to the South via Mathura, Allahabad, Benares, and Telengana. The alarm was raised too late at Agra, and even then the Imperial vestments were too tardy of motion.² The *behest* and Kaurer Rām Singh were censured, and as Rām Singh was suspected of having prompted the

¹ E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 294-321.

² For an interesting version of the legend, according to *Cronica do Estado do Goa*, op. cit., pp. 126-6. Also cf. my *Maratha History Re-examined*.

reason, he was deprived of his sword and forbidden to come to Court. Orders were sent to the provincial governors, and to the officials in all directions, to search for Shirdi, and to seize him and send him to the Emperor. Rājā Jai Singh, who just at that time had retired from Bijapur, and had arrived at Aurangabad, received orders . . . to watch carefully for the bird escaped from the cage, and not suffer him to re-establish himself in his old haunts and to gather his followers around him.¹ But the old Rajast general was completely baffled; he was recalled in May 1667, and died on the 2nd July following, at Burdwan on his way to the capital.

The return of Prince Musamam, as viceroy of the Deccan, together with Jaiwant Singh, gave Shirdi the opportunity he needed. Though the Mughal arms were strengthened with the joining of Dillī Kida, in October 1667, Shirdi soon recovered his lost position. The empire being threatened in the North-West at the same time (1667), and the Imperial officers in the Deccan operating among themselves, a peace was patched up with the Marathas (9th March 1668) which lasted for two years. Shirdi's title of *Nisak* was recognised by the Emperor, and the English factory records of the time speak of the "great tranquillity," "Shirdi being very quiet, not offering to molest the king's country." Shirdi was again created a *mansabdar* of 5,000, and was sent to the viceroy's Court at Aurangabad with a contingent of 1,000 horse. It was during this period (1667-69) that Shirdi laid the foundations of his government, broad and deep, in the admiration of after ages.²

On the admirable ground of Aurangzeb's campaign of temple destruction in 1668, Shirdi launched his offensive once again, about the close of that year or the beginning of the next. One of the great exploits of this campaign was the capture of Kondara (then-forward called *Sandhagarh*) by the brave Thakā Malwanā. His exploits are still sung by rustic bards in Maharashtra, and one bel-lid sings:

*'On four the best in conquering might,
 Two down the life-gal's wings white,
 And o'er the fortress of their fear,
 Their monarch's wings standard rear.*

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 261.

2. Barker, op. cit., p. 266.

*And now the cannon's thunder loud
Peat'd o'er the plain the conquest proud,
Five times they spoke in flames and smoke,
And England's distant towers smoke,
"Smother it now," proclaimed the king,
And bid her give her answer ring.*

*And ye, Marathas brave! give o'er,
Tang's exploits crowd to hear
Where from your whole dominion wide
Shall such another be supplied?"*¹

While Shrivis was thus conquering, reconquering, and consolidating, Prince Musamman and Dilir Khan were again quarrelling and re-quarrelling each other. In March 1679, consequently, the English factors at Surat wrote, "Shrivis marches now not (as) before to a fleet, but in gress with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes, and 's not deterred though the Prince lies near him."²

On 1st October 1679 Shrivis for a second time plundered Surat. The incidents of the previous raid repeated themselves in the course of three days. (iv) Second Last of Surat.

Property worth about 125 lakhs of rupees was carried away, and Surat remained in continuous dread of the Marathas until 1679. "But the real loss of Surat," observes Sarkis, "was not to be estimated by the booty which the Marathas carried off. The trade of this, the richest port of India, was practically destroyed. Business was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hastened to send their goods to that the greatest emporium of Western India."³

The rest of Shrivis's relations with the Marathas may be briefly summarized. Between the years 1671-2, in addition to the recovery of most of the territory ceded by the treaty of Purandar (1663), the Marathas annexed Baglana (north of Nashik district), and the Kol country (between and between of Dhavara and), between Surat and Thana. In 1673 Pandhla was annexed, and Kolhapur and Poona in 1675. By this time Shrivis had also

(iv) Campaign to Deccan of 1678 (1674-80).

1 Asquith, *Rebels of the Marathas*, pp. 51, 52.
2 O. C. 1679, cited by Sarkis, op. cit., p. 132.
3 Ibid., p. 133.

got himself crowned (1576) at Bilgarh, by which act he at once elevated himself from being a mere rabel or free-lancer to the status of a crowned monarch. As Sarkar has well observed, "So long as he was a mere private subject, he could not, with all his power, claim the loyalty and the devotion of the people over whom he ruled. His promises could not have the sanctity and constancy of the public engagements of the head of a State. He could sign no treaty, grant no land with legal validity and an assurance of permanence. The territories conquered by his sword could not become his lawful property, however undisturbed his possession over them might be in practice. The people living under his sway or serving under his banners, could not renounce their allegiance to the former sovereign of the land, nor be sure that they were exempt from the charge of treason for their obedience to him. The permanence of his political creation required that it should be validated in the act of a sovereign."¹

During the last six years of his life (1604-10) Shajahan's conquests were mainly confined to the lands south of the limits already named. In a history of the Mughal Empire they have a place only as the future battle-ground between the Marathas and the Nizams, as the legacy of the fight with Shirdi after the death of the great enemy of the Empire. This comprised the southern division of Shivaji's *sawadya* (consisting of the Konkan south of Bombay, Shrant-ekli and the North Kanara coast, the Karmnath districts of Belgaum and Dhurnar to Kopal west of the Tungabhadra river, and lastly portions of Mysore, Bellary, Chitala, and Anant districts up to Velken and Jira); the northern division consisting of the Dary and Baglana, the Koli country south of Surat, Konkan north of Bombay, and the Deccan plateau of Dakh southwards to Poona, and the Satara and Kolhapur districts.

"Outside these settled or half-settled parts of his kingdom, there was a wide and very fluctuating belt of land subject to his power but not owing him sovereignty. They were the adjacent parts of the Mughal Empire (Mughlati in Marathi), which formed the happy hunting-ground of his horsemen," and whence he levied *chauth*.²

1. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 407.

Shivaji died on 4th April 1680.¹ This event followed by the

3. Sambhaji
1680-88.

escape of the rebellious Prince Akbar into the Deccan, obliged Aurangzeb to come to the South,² where he was destined to spend the re-

maining twenty-seven years of his life. Shivaji was succeeded by his sonless son Sambhaji, who though brave like his father was prodigal to a degree. This prince, before his barbarous execution in 1689, followed the strategy of the great Marathas, and harried and plundered the Mughal territories in the Deccan. He also, like Shivaji, befriended the Koth-shikhs and Adil-shikhs Sultans whenever it was convenient to co-operate with them against the Mughals.³ Thus in 1677 the Marathas had been promised 5,000 *tan* a day or 4½ *lakh* of rupees a month) and a contingent of 5,000 for the conquest of the Karnatak. The Koth Shikhs had also agreed to pay an annual subsidy of one *lakh* of *tan* regularly and to keep a Marathi ambassador at his Court. With this aid Shivaji had conquered, up to the close of 1677-78, a territory of 40 by 60 leagues estimated to yield 30 *lakh* of *tan* a year, and including a hundred forts. Similarly, in 1679, Sambhaji had gone to the summit of helpless Bijapur and "poured like a flood through the districts of Mughal Deccan, plundering and burning in their track and taking an immense booty in cash and kind." But this was Shivaji's last campaign.

1. He was then 50 years of age at that time. "Shivaji's real greatness," observes Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, "lay in his character and ability rather than in the originality of conception or length of political vision. Unusually taught into the character of others, efficiency of organisation, and intuitive perception of what was practicable and most profitable under the circumstances (*just the things possible*)—these were the marks of his genius in life. The imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of the scattered Marathas into a nation and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people. And he achieved this in the face of the opposition of four mighty Powers like the Mughal empire, Bijapur, Portuguese India, and the Abyssinians of Japan."

2. No other Hindu has done such constructive good as modern times. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State (defeat enemies), then can conduct their own defence; they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry; they can maintain peace and coast-trading fleets of their own, and conduct great battles on equal terms with Europeans. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth." (*Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 142).

3. Aurangzeb arrived at Aurangabad on 23rd March, 1680.

4. For a fuller study of the history of Golkonda and Bidar, Karkash of Golkonda in the Seventeenth Century. (Pune, 1908.)

2. "When Sharup was dead," writes Khush Khat, "his wounded son Samdha desired to avenge his father. He raised the standard of rebellion, and on the 30th Muharram, in the twenty-third year of the reign corresponding with 1001 A.D. (15th Feb., 1581), he attacked Khor Khat, who acted as collector of the sayer under Akbar's orders. The Sultan-der of the Dakhn. . . . he fell upon Baidharpet, one her and a half from Baidharpet. This place was rich, and there were many hollies and merchants in it. Jewels, money and goods from all parts of the world were found in vast abundance. He surrounded and attacked this place . . . and his attack was so sudden and unexpected, . . . that no one was able to save a diller or a shree of his property, or a single one of his wives and children. . . . Servants, other places of note, such as Hattapara, etc., in the neighbourhood of the city, all wealthy and flourishing places were plundered and burnt."¹

3. When Prince Muhammad Akbar sought shelter in the Deccan (1580) he found his way to Bijapur (Bijapur), the capital of Samdha. "This dakhn," says Khush Khat, "came to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three her from the fort of Bijapur, and find an alternative for his support." This, as we have seen already, drew down the might of the Empire upon him, and Akbar finally swept to Persia.

4. In the final campaign of Aurangzeb against Golkonda (1686-87), readers will remember that, among the Imperial charges against Abdul Kham, it was also stated: "moreover it had lately become known that a line of pagoda had been cast to the rebel Samdha."

5. All these were sufficient grievances for Aurangzeb to organize his forces to crush Samdha. So, "Prince Muhammad Akbar (15th) was sent in the 34th year of the reign, 1001 A.D.² and some experienced amirs to punish the rebels about Baidharpet and Chhatrapati. Fero Jang, with another army, was sent to reduce the forts in the neighbourhood of Bijapur. Miranur Khat, afterwards called Shakh Nader, Naderkhat was sent against the rebel Samdha. Each of these endeavoured to distinguish himself in the performance of the service in which he had been sent. Miranur Khat distinguished above all the soldiers of the Dakhn for his military knowledge and enterprise. He laid siege to the fort of Pandha, near Baidharpet, and sent out his spies in all directions to gather intelligence, and especially to get intelligence about Samdha, who in his old and evil course of life was too often aware that his father Shakh.

Then Miranur Khat left his old home at Bijapur, and went to the fort of Khush. After satisfying himself of the state of his army and the settlement of the country round, under the guidance of skilful fort-men, which kept him ignorant of the approach of the Imperial forces.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 320.

2. Ibid., p. 320.

3. The Mughal offensive was organized at the end of the rainy season about the middle of September 1685. (Ferdin., *Short History of Aurangzeb*, vol. I, p. 323).

he went to lodge in the waters of the Sun-Oonga, on the borders of the district of Sangamur (Sangamuduru in the Quail), one days journey from the rear-wards. The place was situated in a valley, surrounded by high mountains of different passages. Here Katsukin (Katsukin, Katsukin, or Katsukin, a Katsukin from companion of Samblak), the fifty day had built a house, embellished with paintings and surrounded with a garden full of fruit trees and flowers. Samblak, with Katsukin and his wife and his son Sifu, went there, accompanied by a flock of two or three thousand harts, entirely without of the apprehension of the police of the day.¹ He writes KANG KHA.

After having he stayed there, viewing the lofty hills, the verdant meads full of woods and flowers, and the thick woods of thorny trees. Unlike his father he was addicted to wine, and fond of the society of handsome women, and gave himself up to pleasure. Messengers brought him intelligence of the active movements of Mokuarri Khat, but he was absorbed in the pleasures which bring so many men of spirit to their ruin. The other details need not be followed. Samblak and all his friends and family were taken prisoner to the Emperor. The degree of reflecting that accompanied this event may be fairly taken as the measure of the Imperial satisfaction at the triumphant suppression of Mokuarri's long drawn out struggle with Shavli and his son.

It is not that during the two or five days when Mokuarri Khat was known to be dwelling with his prisoners, the prisoners were in great want of clothes, from cheap straws to miserable ones, that they could not sleep at night, and they were not too far to meet the prisoners, and gave expression to their misfortune. In every town and village on the road or near it wherever the news reached, there was great delight; and wherever they passed, the doors and roofs were full of men and women, who looked on rejoicing. (He says the Imperial Historian).²

After they had been sent to their places of confinement, some of the nobles of the court advised that their lives should be spared, and that they should be kept in perpetual confinement, on condition of surrendering the keys of the fortress held by Samblak. . . the Emperor was so lavish of giving the opportunity of getting rid of these great misers of the world, and hoped that with a little caution their fortresses would be reduced. He therefore rejected the advice, and would not consent to spare them on condition of surrendering the keys of the fortress. He gave orders that the towers of both should be torn out. Then with ten or eleven other persons, they went to go to death with a variety of tortures, and lastly he ordered that the skulls of the heads of Samblak

1. Mokuarri Khat was well rewarded for this 'splendid and unparalleled' gesture. He agreed to him an income of 1000 harts, gave him the title of Khat Khatin Puthling, a present of 50,000 rupa, and of a horse, elephants, etc., etc. His son, Khat Khat, who held a reward of 4000 rupa and 4000 harts, had it increased a thousand, and received the title of Khat Khat. His four or five sons and nephews also received titles and marks of favour. [Khat Khat—H. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 342].

and Kichikar should be stuffed with straw, and exposed in all the cities and towns of the Dekkan, with blast of drums and sound of trumpet. Such is the retaliation for rebellion, violent, oppressive rebellion (so says Kish Kish).¹

Shiba, the son of Samikhra, a boy of seven years of age, was spared, and orders were given for his being kept within the limits of the palace. Suitable teachers were appointed to educate him, and a sum of 7000 was granted to him. . . . Some women, including the mother and daughters of Samikhra, were sent to the fortress of Daulatabad.²

Samikhra's tragedy was the outcome of his own impolicy and ineptitude. As Sarkar has well observed,

4. P. 171-172. "While Aurangzeb was chasing the fall
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strength of his empire against Bijapur and Golkonda, Shambhaji made no adequate effort to meet the danger that threatened all the Deccan Powers alike. His soldiers plundered places in the Moghal territory as a matter of course, but these raids did not influence the military situation. Aurangzeb disregarded such pie-picks. The Maratha king was not wise enough to follow any large and well-thought-out plan for defeating the Moghals from the siege of Bijapur (1686) and Golkonda (1687) and saving their fall; his Government was also hopelessly weakened by rebellions among his vassals and plots among his courtiers."³

The weakness of hereditary monarchy, as an untried country with no defined principles of succession, had been demonstrated in Mubaraknagar as well, immediately after Shirdi's death. Rājādhira, a son of his first (the younger son of Shirdi by another wife), had been preferred by some of the nobility to his prodigal elder step-brother Samikhra. But within a short time Samikhra came into his own, with the results we have witnessed. Aurangzeb found hardly any respite even after the execution of Samikhra. Rājādhira immediately stepped into the shoes of his deceased step-brother: "Messengers now brought to the knowledge of the Emperor," writes Kish Kish, "that the forces of Rām Rājā (as he calls Rājādhira) had marched in various directions to ravage the territories and reduce the forts belonging to the Imperial Deccan."⁴

1. The tragedy was enacted at Kuregan, on the banks of the Krishna, 12 miles N. E. of Poona, on 11th March, 1689.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 389-401.

3. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 311, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

The westerners campaigning of the next ten years may be only very briefly told here. "The years 1818 and 1819 were a period of unbroken triumph to the Emperor. His armies took possession of the forts and provinces of the annexed kingdoms of Bijaipur and Gollonda, *etc.*, Sagar (the Berar capital), Raikar and Adon (in the centre-Sera and Raigat in Mysore), Wandewash and Conjevaram (in the Madras Kamatak), Bardeker and Belgam (in the extreme south-west), besides Kalgah (the capital) and every other Maratha fort. In Northern India, too, equal success attended his arms: the Jit rising under Rishidra was put down and that leader was slain (on 6th July, 1821)."¹

The Marathas were past-masters in tactics. Rishidra under the advice of his minister (*Amaty*) Rameshchandra Nihelra Edydekar, escaped to Jang in order to divide the Imperial forces by creating a diversion in the eastern Kamatak. In the Maratha dominions near-by here the *Amatya* Bhandel was appointed Dattar (*Hakumatpanat*) with his headquarters at Yabligah. Between these two fronts the Mughal forces were frittered away. "The difficulties of Aarnagah," observes Sarkar, "were only multiplied by the disappearance of a sovereign head and a central government among the Marathas, as every Maratha captain with his own retainers fought and ruled as a different quarter and on his own account. It now became a people's war, and Aarnagah could not end it, because there was no Maratha government or State army for him to attack and destroy."² "It was no longer a simple military problem, but had become a trial of endurance and resources between the Mughal empire and the indomitable people of the Deccan."³

(i) The first reverse of the Imperialist came in May 1820 when the Mughal general Rustam Khin was captured and his camp looted by the Marathas. That was the achievement of the Maratha general Bhatij Ghorpade.

'Every one who encountered him,' says Khafi Khin, 'was either killed or wounded and made prisoner; or if any one did escape, it was with his own life, with the loss of his army and baggage. Nothing could be done, for wherever the victorious dog went and quenched its thirst, there was no Imperial rule bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made his own vicious quail. I myself

1. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

Khalis was accounted one of the bravest and most skilful warriors of the Bakhsh, but he was defeated in the first action, his army was plundered, and he himself was wounded and made prisoner. After some months he obtained his release, on the payment of a large sum of money. So also Karam Khalis, otherwise called Shams Khalis, the *Shahin* of the area and as brave as he, was defeated by him in the district of Sindh, and after losing his baggage and all that he had with him, he was taken prisoner, and had to pay a large sum for his ransom. As Miran Khalis otherwise called Humsa Beg Haderkhali, was defeated and made prisoner with several others. After detention of some days, they obtained their release on paying a sum of two lakhs of rupees.¹

(iv) In 1691 the Mughal position at Jand became very critical. Next year matters were made worse by the negotiations of Prince Khud-Bakhsh with the enemy; so he was arrested by his colleagues (Dec. 1692 to Jan. 1693). Between 1694-66, the activities of Pindia Niyazi, the Barad chief, hampered the Imperial arms in the strategically important tract between Batar and Bijapur and from Raichur to Malabar.

(v) "At last, by April 1696 Aurangzeb came to realise that he had really gained nothing by the conquest of the Adilshahi and Quthbshahi capitals and the extinction of their royal line. He now perceived that the Maratha problem was no longer what it had been in Shivaji's time, or even in Shamshaji's. They were no longer a tribe of bandits or local rebels, but the new dominating factor of Deccan politics, the only enemy left to the empire, and yet an enemy all-pervasive from Bombay to Madras across the Indian peninsula, elusive as the wind, without any head-quarters or stronghold whose capture would naturally result in the extinction of their power."² Growing up all hopes, therefore, of being able to return to the North, Aurangzeb in May 1696 sent his eldest surviving son, Shah Alam, to govern and guard the north-west (Punjab, Sindh, and then Afghanistan). For the next 4½ years he settled down at Indrapur (Delhimagarh) to conduct the operations. The chief incidents of this period were the destruction of two Mughal generals, Karam Khalis (Nov. 1696) and Humsa Khalis (Jan. 1696), the murder of Samfir Chhaprahi in a domestic feud, and the return of Rājshikar as a result of the fall of Jajp in January 1696.

The circumstances attending on the defeat of Karam Khalis are thus detailed by Khadi Khalis:

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 367.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 317.

"In fact, for a month they were besieged within the four walls of Dardani, and every day others grew weak with thirst. They were compelled to kill and eat their baggage and riding horses, which were themselves nearly starved. For all the greatest care and economy, the stores of grain in the fort were exhausted. . . . To escape from starvation¹ many men threw themselves from the walls and tumbled to the enemy's mercy. . . . People brought fruit and sweetmeats from the enemy's lines to the foot of the walls, and sold them at extravagant prices. . . . Diseases, absence, deficiency of water and want of grain, reduced the survivors to the verge of death. Kadir Khan, according to report, poisoned himself, or had some want of the usual portion of opium, for he was overcome with disappointment and rage.

"Ruh-i-lah Khan and the other officers were compelled to make overtures for a capitulation. . . . Some officers went out to settle the terms of the ransom. Saad said, "Besides the elephants and horses and money and property, which you have with you, I will not take less than a lot of *hans*" equivalent to three lak and 50,000 rupees. A Dardani officer said, "What are you thinking of! this is more than. This is a ransom which I would do for Ruh-i-lah Khan, alone." Finally, seven lak of rupees was settled as the ransom, the payment of which was to be distributed among the officers. Each man's share was settled, and he made an engagement to pay in money and to leave a relation or officer of rank with Saad as host for payment. Saad's officers sat down at the gate of the fort, and allowed every officer to take his horse and his personal clothing, the others were allowed to carry out as much as they could bear on their arms. Everything else, money and jewels, horses and elephants, etc., were confiscated by Saad. . . . The Government and personal property lost during this war and siege extended fifty or sixty lak of rupees².

iv. With the flight of Jijidhan from Jajji began the last phase of Jangzeb's war in the Deccan. "The rest of his life (1699-1707) is a repetition of the same reckoning tale: a hill-fort captured by him after a vast expenditure of time, men and money, the fort recovered by the Marathas from the weak Mughal garrison after a few months, and its siege begun again by the Mughals a year or two later! His soldiers and camp followers suffered unspeakable hardships in marching over flooded rivers,³ muddy roads, and broken

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 224-5.

2. Here is a description of one such flood, given by Khud Khan: "In the month of Muharram of this year (1699-40), the river Bhamburda (Bhambur) near which the royal camp was pitched, rose to a great height and overflowed, causing enormous destruction. The water had built many houses there. The waves began to overflow at midnight, when all the world was asleep. . . . The flood carried off about ten or twelve thousand men, with the establishments of the king, and the palaces and the women's houses, bellies and cattle in endless numbers, tools and furniture to

billy tracks, porters disappeared; transport beasts died of hunger and weakness; supplies of grain were exhausted in the camp. His officers worried of the labour of Shikhar; but Aurangzeb would hear none such at any suggestion of return to Northern India and trust the untidy, cowardly with cowardice and love of ease. The mutual jealousies of his generals ruined his affairs as completely as the French cause in the Peninsular War was ruined by the jealousies of Napoleon's marshals. Therefore, the Emperor must conduct every operation in person, or nothing would be done. The siege of eight forts—Sikra, Pili, Pashila, Khela (Vaidighat), Koudara (Kongari), Piliyari, Torna and Wajingra,—occupied him for five years and a half (1696-1702).¹

v. The fact that, with the exception of Torna, all other forts yielded to the golden key of sedition, throws a lurid light on the extent of demoralisation that had come over the nobles of Bij Pasha or Tughla. Out of this matter we might choose for description only the siege of Sikra which is reminiscent of the siege of Chitor by Akbar, in his strenuous effort and appalling toll of destruction.

'At the end of *Jumada* and (Dec. 1696) the royal army arrived against Sikra, and the camp was pitched at a distance of a *fer* and a half. Prince Muhammad Azim Shah encamped on another side, and the nobles and officers were posted according to the judgment of Tahirat Khán. They all died with each other in throwing to him, digging mines, and carrying on other siege operations. On both sides a heavy fire was kept up. . . . and the garrison rolled down great stones which came bounding down and crushed many men and animals. The sun obstructed the arrival of men, the enemy were very daring in attacking the encamps, and the country for twenty *fer* round the fortress had been burnt, so that grass and hay became very scarce and dear. A battery twenty-four yards (*dar*) high was thrown up in front of the hill, and on the Prince's side also the batteries were carried to the foot of the hill. A hundred and sixty thousand vapour were paid for the services of the troops and soldiers of that country, who are very efficient in sieges. Mistakes were born with the garrison, and the chance of losing a gun or a cannon was no longer in their power: all that they could do was to roll down stones from the walls.

great all round. Muslemian houses were destroyed, and there were no completely ruined away that not a trace of them was left. Great fear fell on all the army. . . . The King wrote and prayed with his own hand and ordered them to be always with the order, for the purpose of causing it to subside?'—(Ibid., p. 284).

1. Sachse, *op. cit.*, 279.

Stone-walls were employed by the besiegers to cut two vaults in the side of the rock four yards wide and ten yards long, which were to be used as passages for soldiers. But when they were found not to answer the first purpose, they were filled with powder. . . . On the morning of the 25a D-I broke in the fourth vault of the rock, one of them was fired. The rocks and the wall above it were blown into the air and fell inside the fortress. Many of the garrison were blown up and burnt. The besiegers, on beholding this, pushed badly forward. All that time the second mine was fired. A portion of the rock above was blown up, but instead of falling into the fortress, as was expected, it came down upon the heads of besiegers like a mountain of destruction, and several thousands were buried under it. . . . The garrison then set about stopping the walls, and then again opened fire and rolled down the blood-drenching stones.

'When Anzangob was informed of the disaster, and of the dependency of his men, he mounted his horse, and went to the scene of action, as if in search of death. He gave orders that the bodies of the dead should be piled upon each other, and made to serve as shields against the arrows of volunteers; then with the holder of resolution, and the unshakable of boldness, the men should rush to the assault. When he perceived that his words made no impression on the men, he was desirous to lead the way himself, accompanied by Mithammat Aker Sakh. But the nobles objected to this rash proposition.

'An extraordinary incident now occurred. A great number of Hindu military soldiers had been killed all at once (in the explosion), and their friends were unable to send and bury out their bodies. The violence of the shock had miserably disfigured them, and it was not possible to distinguish between Hindoos and Musulmans, friend and stranger. The flames of sorrow burst forth among all the garrison against the commander of the auxiliary. So at night they secretly set fire to the defenses (merikah), which had been raised at great trouble and expense against the fire from above, in the hope and with the design that the fire might reach the corpses of the slaughtered Hindus. A great conflagration followed, and for the space of a week served as a bright lamp both for besiegers and besieged. A number of Hindus and Musulmans who were alive in the fort were unable to escape, and were burnt, the living with the dead.'

Rajkiran, who since his return from Jajji had occupied himself with repairing his forts in Karakoram and forming plans of extensive trade in Kokandah and Berke, died at Shikargah on 22d March, 1700. He had left Satala on 25th October 1699, in order to escape falling into the hands of the enemy. The news of his death disheartened the besieged at Satala and led to the capitulation of that fortress in April 1700.

1. E. & B., op. cit., VII, pp. 264-66.

4. Last Phase: The nature of the struggle after the death of Hishika is thus depicted by Shōji Kōda. —

'When Shin Kōda died, leaving only widows and orphans, men thought that the power of the Murakami over the Daidai was at an end. But Tōshi Shō, the able yaku (of Hishika's), made his use of those years-old successes of his father, and took the reins of government into his own hands.¹ She took vigorous measures for enlarging the Imperial Territory, and just as soon to plunder the six states of the Daidai as far as Iseki, Mōrihara, and the rule of Mōri. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and labours, the campaigns and sieges of Aomori-juku up to the end of his reign, the power of the Murakami increased day by day. By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasure accumulated by Shōji Kōda, and by sacrifice of many thousands of men, he had penetrated into their wretched country, had subdued their lofty towers, and had driven them from house and home. Still the daring of the Murakami increased, and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went. In answer of the Emperor, who with his armies and scrupulous order was staying in their distant mountains, the commanders of Tōshi Shō, on the order of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed *kanashikōshi* (revenue collectors), they passed the years and months to their satisfaction with their wives and children, tents and altars. Their daring went beyond all bounds. They divided all the districts (*kyōgō*) among themselves, and following the practice of the Imperial rule, they appointed their *shōshō* (provincial governors), *kanashikōshi* (revenue collectors), and *raiōshi* (salt-collectors). They attacked and despoiled the country as far as the borders of Mōrihara and the districts of Mōri, and spread their devastations through the provinces of the Daidai to the searooms of Utsun. They set upon and plundered huge revenue mounds ten or twelve leagues from the Imperial camp, and even had the hardihood to attack the royal treasure.² Shōji Kōda went up by night. "It would be a troublesome and useless task to commit to writing all their misdeeds: but it must suffice to record some few of the events which occurred in those days of rage, which, after all, had no effect in suppressing the daring of the Murakami."³

There was corruption in both the camps, as well as feuds and defections among important officers. But this weakness was more than counterbalanced by the determination of Aomori-juku on the one hand, and the intrepid leadership of Tōshi Shō on the other. For

1. This was Shōji II. He had been preceded by Kōda, a second son of Hishika, who had been crowned by the ministers at Shōji II, but he died of smallpox in three weeks' time.

2. Elsewhere the same writer speaks of Tōshi Shō as a clever and petulant woman, who had obtained a reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters—*Ibid.*, p. 262.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-75.

to turn the Emperor tried to make political capital out of Shajin (Gashdōg's eldest son) who was in the Imperial camp ever since the capture and execution of his father; but this proved of no avail. As Humeau puts it, "As the Manchus had not been vanquished, and the entire Heran had come into their possession like a deliciously cooked pudding, why should they make peace? . . . The envoys of the Prince returned in disappointment and Rāje Shāh was again placed under surveillance in the jail house."¹

So the laborious and useless task of capturing individual prisoners was continued. After Sāshū (1700) came Pāk (1701), Pan-hā (1701), Kūshā (1701), Kōndān (1703), Sūlghā (1703) and Tōmā (1704),—all excepting the last being taken, not so much by assault, as by what Khāfi Khān calls "negotiations with the commanders and promises of material advancement."² The last expedition ever led by Aurangzeb in person was against the Sherāfī chief Pūghā Shāh. He proved the last political straw that broke the Imperial camel's back. The capture of Shūlghā, in April 1708, was a pyrrhic victory for Aurangzeb. "Shūlghā was captured; but its chieftain had escaped and lived to give trouble to the victors. Thus, all Aurangzeb's labours for these three months were lost."³

1. Sarkis, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

2. H. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 377.

3. This is evidently a mistake for *Andar* or *Indar*. Sarkis uses the form as used in the text; I do not know for what reason. The Persians spell it as *Andar*, in English. Khāfi Khān says, of their chief Pūghā Shāh, as he said him, "Having taken up his residence at Shūlghā, he showed no signs of moving, but one about sympathizing and adding to the defence, and having 12 warlike horses. Forwarded by letters he in time collected about 14 or 15 thousand infantry of regular and quality. He made his hill a strong fortress, and, collecting in a short time 4 or 5 thousand horse, he occupied flourishing places for rest and war, and plunder of caravans. Whenever an army was sent against him, the strong force which he had collected would lose the strength of his retreat, the preference of money spent in military, a position which he well understood, his knowledge of subtle proceedings, and his own industry, caused him through and bags of money and a variety of presents convert all the expenses of his statements. In his letters he made all sorts of artful excuses and represented himself as one of the most obedient of servants and possessor of immense property. Every month and year he offered himself to increasing his holdings, strengthening his powers and again in gathering forces and arming guns, great and small. At last his place became well known as the fort of Shūlghā, and he became a first ally of the Manchus, the destroyer of the Sherāfīs."—*Ibid.*, p. 376.

DESOLATION AND DEATH.

The ultimate result of Aurangzeb's nearly quarter century of campaigning in the Deccan is thus described by Manucci a contemporary European observer: "Aurangzeb withdrew to Ahmednagar leaving behind him the fields of those provinces devoid of tillage and bere of crops, their place being taken by the bones of men and beasts. Instead of verdure all is black and barren. Thous have died in his armies over a hundred souls yearly, and of animals, pack-men, camels, elephants, etc., over three hundred thousand. . . . In the Deccan provinces, from 1702 to 1704, plague¹ (and famine) prevailed. In these two years there expired over two millions of souls."² The retreat of Aurangzeb to Ahmednagar brought an end to his army or power to his Empire. In April or May 1705 a great Maratha army under all its leaders appeared within four miles of his camp, and they were repulsed only after a very severe contest.

In the terrible, in a minute, in a breath, the condition of the world changes.

[The last moments of Aurangzeb's life came on the morning of Friday, 20th February 1705.] The events leading up to it are thus described by KHAN KHAN:—

In April 1705, 'The Emperor was seized with illness, and had severe pains in his limbs, which caused grave apprehension. But he turned himself, took his seat in the public hall, and engaged in business, thus giving consolation to the people. But his illness increased, he had falling fits and lost his senses so that very alarming reports spread abroad, and for ten or twelve days the army and camp were in great disorder. But by the mercy of God he grew better, and occasionally showed himself

¹ Here is KHAN KHAN's account of the plague:

"The plague (shidâ) and pestilence (jashâ), which had its several very bad spots in the Deccan as far as west as Surat and the city of Ahmednagar, came broken out with violence in Bijapur, and at royal camp. It was so terrible that when an individual was attacked with it, he gave up all hope and thought only about his mourning and mourning. The black-painted grave-diggers at the city sought to pick out the dead of the houses like flies from the field of the world, and the cold blast of destruction tried to cut down the tree of life from the surface of the world. The victims of the plague were coverings as big as a grape or banana under the same, behind the door, and in the grass, and a redoubt was permitted round the people of the camp, as in fever or pestilence (jashâ). It was the business of him to provide for the interment of the dead, but thousands of obscure and illiterate persons, of no property died in the towns and markets, and very few of them had the means of burial. . . . It began in the 27th year of the reign and lasted for seven or eight years."—KHAN KHAN, op. cit., VII, p. 237.

² Barker, op. cit., 185-6.

in the palace or the public hall. The news was in the emperor's country, without house or home, and of the sad calamity (of the Emperor's death) were to happen, not one soul would escape from that land of calamities and raging affliction.' After his recovery he proceeded to Akmednagar (18th Jan 1900). 'Prince Muhammad Aram Shih was in the province of Akmednagar. When he heard of his father's illness he wrote for leave to visit his father, stating as an excuse that the climate of Akmednagar was very unfavourable to him. This displeased the Emperor, who replied that he had written a letter of exactly the same effect to his father Shih Jihsh when he was ill, and that he was told in answer, that every air (land?) was suitable to a man except the desert (land?) of affliction. But the Prince wrote repeatedly to the same effect, and was then appointed to the aid of Mian. He did not, however, go to Ujjan, but wrote for leave to visit his father. A grudging permission was given, and the Prince made the best of his way, so that he arrived at the end of the month. The aid of Akmednagar, which was taken from him, was given to Muhammad Ibrahim Khan

'When Prince Muhammad Aram Shih reached his father's Court, his confidence in his own courage and boldness, and his pride in the army and treasure he had got together at Akmednagar, made him aspire to the royal state and treasure. He thought nothing about his elder brother, but considered himself the chief in every way. Prince Muhammad Khan Balikh he looked upon as separated from closely by imprisonment. But he had observed the altered temper of his father, whose failings were not always in their natural state. His first thoughts fell upon Prince Muhammad Aram (Arum-sh Shih, son of Mianwan), who was at Akmednagar or Fatah, in Fatah, where he had been sometime Sald-ah, and had obtained a reputation for amassing treasure. Therefore he wished to remove him by getting him installed as Court, and by various representations, some false, some true, he so worked upon the mind of the Emperor, that orders were issued for his recall,.... and the Prince proceeded to wait upon his grand-father....

'Confirmation was received, through the Governor of Mian, of the death of Prince Muhammad Akbar, in Oumak, the report of which had been current for a year past....

'Prince Aram Shih now sought a pretext for a quarrel with Prince Khan Balikh. The Emperor slightly improved in health, but although for some days he went into the public hall of audience and the Court of Justice, he was very weak, and death was clearly marked in his face. Prince Aram's failings towards Prince Khan Balikh, who was a just and learned man, were displayed themselves in various slight and improper actions whenever an opportunity offered. Khan Balikh was dear to his father, for it often happens that men have the greatest affection for their youngest sons. So the Emperor appointed a eunuch to act as the Saldah of Khan Balikh, and to him he entrusted the Prince, with instructions to take care of him....

The knowledge of the Emperor told him that his health was failing and he saw that Prince Anson's petulance increased daily. He knew that if two embittered sons were left together, after his death there would be dissension in the army, and great disturbances among the people. His affection for Kian Kishik also melted upon him. He sent other Eulogists with all the signs and tokens of respect to Buzpur, and the dress of the royal nobles-likehood were ordered to play as he departed. The sight of all this made Prince Anson writhe like a poisonous serpent, but he could not stir a word. In two or three days he also received orders to proceed to Malwa in charge of strict officers.

After the departure of the two Princes, the Emperor grew much worse, and soon perished. But for the next four or five days, usually marking the severity of the disease, he attended carefully to the regular prayers. In this state of things Hsien-shih-shih Kian presented a letter containing the advice of astrologers, recommending the giving away of an elephant and a valuable diamond in charity. To that the Emperor wrote in reply, the giving away of an elephant was the protocol of the Hindus and of star-worshippers; but he sent four thousand rupies to the chief Brahmin, for him to distribute among the deserving. In the same letter he wrote, saying, "Carry this creature of dust quickly to the spot (burial) place and consign him to the earth without any further coffin." It is said that he wrote a will dividing his kingdom among his sons, and entrusted it to Hsien-shih-shih Kian.¹

On Friday, the 24th 244 A.D., in the fifty-first year of the reign, corresponding with 1118 A.D. (February 23, 1707 A.D.), after performing mourning purges and repeating the creed, at about one watch of the day, the Emperor departed this life. He was nearly sixty and some months old, and had reigned fifty years, two months and a half. He was buried near Dushabak (at Khandahat) by the tomb of Shieh Hsien-shih-shih and other religious worthies, and of Shieh Zan Zan-bah-shih, and some districts of Buzpur were assigned for the maintenance of his tomb.²

Finally, KIAN KISHIK winds up with the following estimate of the Emperor:—

1. A translation of this alleged will as given in the *Alman-i-Muhammadi* credited to Hsien-shih-shih Kian Kishik, is given by Barker. The following extracts from it may be noted:—Four Euphrates and two annual part of the year of the reign were by me, not with Ala Beg, the eunuchs. Take this amount and spend it on the funeral of this hapless creature. Three hundred and five Euphrates, from the wages of supplying the Euphrates, set in my purse for personal expenses. Distribute them to the Euphrates on the day of my death. Take the remaining necessary articles from the agent of Prince Alpaka (Anson), as he is the nearest heir among my sons, and on him lay the responsibility of the funeral or unlawful (pardon of my funeral). The helping person (i.e. Anson) is not answerable for them, because the dead are at the mercy of the Euphrates. Cover the top of the coffin on two days with the cream white cloth called *shih*. Attend the spending of a crore and associations (i.e. provisions) of medicines and the celebration of the Emperor's Birthday (Anson)."

The following (Hindu Office Library MS. 1844, 7. 45b.1), used to have been written with his own hand by Aurangzeb and left under his pillow as he died—had, it also given by Sir Jahangir Sarkar:—

[I was hapless (in life) and I am dying hapless. Whichever of my sons has the good fortune of gaining the kingdom, he should not trouble Kani Balikh, if the latter is content with the two provinces of Bijapur and Hyderabad. There is not, nor will there (ever) be any state better than And Khin. Deccan Khin, the crown of the Deccan, is better than other imperial provinces. With true devotion toward Muhammad Akbar Shah-will be agree to the mode of partitioning the empire which was proposed in my lifetime: that there will be no fighting between sons and no sleeping of mankind. Do not divide my secondary provinces, nor molest them. The compact of the throne should have (one of) the two subahs of Agra and Delhi, and whoever agrees to take the former (of these) will get four subahs of the old Kingdom—Agra (ak), Malwa, Gujarat, and Ajmer and the districts dependent on these—and four subahs of the Deccan, namely, Kolahat, Berar, Aurangabad, and Bidar and their parts. And whoever agrees to take the latter (i.e. Delhi) will get the seven subahs of the old Kingdom—Delhi, Panah, Kabul, Multan, Tatta Kashmir, Saghal, Orissa, Bihar, Alakhad and Qadh. (Another version is given in Fraser's *Khair-ul-Jahān*, II-III. See Fraser's *Khair-ul-Jahān*, I: 41-42a, pp. 251-52.)

Of all the sovereigns of the House of Timur—say, of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for dashness, maturity, and justice. In courage, long suffering, and sound judgment he was untroubled. But from reverence for the traditions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good, and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution, and failed of its object. Although he lived for twenty years, his few years were not at all improved, except his hearing, and that too only to slight an extent that it was not perceptible to others. He often passed his nights in vigil and devotion, and he denied himself many pleasures naturally belonging to humanity.¹ So passed away Aurangzeb when Sarkar calls "the greatest of the Great Mughals ever seen."²

The last years of the Emperor were crowded with bereavements. "His domestic life," observes Sarkar, "was destined, on festive

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 251-52.

2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 252.

events clustered round his closing years. His best-loved daughter-in-law, Jahanshah Bano, died in Calcutta in March 1708. His rebel son Akbar had died in exile on a foreign soil in 1704. Still earlier his gifted daughter, the pious Zoh-un-nisa, had ended her days in the prison of Delhi (1700). And now Gulsharara Begum, the sole survivor among his numerous brothers and sisters, died in 1706, and the news of it dragged out of his heart the pathetic cry, which he repeated again and again, 'She and I alone were left among Shah Jahan's children!' In May 1706 his daughter Mir-un-nisa and her husband Isht Bakhsh (Murad's son) both died together in Delhi, and next month Richard Akbar, the son of Akbar. Two of his grand children died shortly before his own death (1707), but his ministers separately withheld the news from the dying man.¹

The pattern of this double tragedy, domestic and political, runs through Aurangzeb's last letters written to his sons. One may be quoted in entire as a sample of the rest.

LAST LETTER TO ADAM

'Peace be on you!

'Old age has arrived and weakness has grown strong, strength has left my hands. I come alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in carelessness have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry.

'Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing. The Master has been at my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see His splendour. Life lasts not, no more is left of the days that are no more; and of the future there is no hope.

'My power has departed, leaving only the sin and hands behind it. My son Kilm Bakhsh, who has gone to Bijapur, is near me. And you are nearer even than he. Dear Shah Alam is farthest of all. Ghulam Muhammad Adim has, by order of the Great God, arrived near Hyderabad (from Bengal).

'All the soldiers are feeling helpless, bewildered, and perturbed like me, who having chosen to leave my Master, am now in a state of trepidation like quail-larks. They think not that we have our

Lord Parker (over with us) I brought nothing with me (into the world), and am carrying away with me the fruits of my sin. I know not what punishment will fall on me. Though I have strong hopes of His grace and goodness, yet in view of my sins anxiety does not leave me. When I am parting from my own self, who else would remain to me? (Parker)

Whatever the wind may be,
I am launching my boat on the water.

Though the Lord Charisher will preserve His doves, yet from the point of view of the outer world, it is also the duty of my soul to see that God's creatures and Muslims may not be seriously slain.

Convey to my grandson (Shahid) (i.e. Shah Bakhsh) my parting blessing. At the time of going away I do not see him, the dove of nesting swallows (unmated). Though the danger is, as you he was, afflicted with grief, yet God is the maker of our hearts. Shortness of sight from no other fruit than disappointment.

'Forward! Forward! Forward!'

IV. AURANGZEB AND THE EUROPEANS

Aurangzeb's relations with the Europeans, except when they were political or otherwise acrimonious, were on the whole friendly. Though the days of active patronage of the Christians were over, they did not suffer as might have been expected under Aurangzeb's partial figure. Being strong when the Empire was weak, namely at sea, they were friendly in a diplomatically advantageous position. Besides this, on the west coast, they could and did play a double game as between the Mughals and the Marathas; they used to bargain with both. As artillerymen their services were greatly appreciated in that military age. Their contribution to the revenues of the Empire, by way of customs, was not negligible. If not kept friendly they were a source of great irritation and danger to the pilgrims and other traffic at the ports and in the sea. The principal nations concerned in this were the Portuguese and the English; the Dutch and the French played only a secondary rôle, at least in their direct relations with the Empire.

A. The Ports.—Khan Khan gives the following account of the Portuguese in the time of Aurangzeb:—

"The affairs of the King of Portugal occupied several neighbouring

1. Sarkar's translation from *En Mughal Adab*, 3234—3235, p. 262.

posts, and had erected forts in strong positions and under the protection of hills. They built villages, and in all matters acted very kindly towards the people, and did not visit them with oppressive taxes. They showed a separate quarter for the Mandingos who dealt with them, and appointed a slave over them to settle all matters of trade and carrying. But the call to journey and battle divisions were not permitted in their settlements. If a poor traveller had to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble; but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease. On the sea they are not like the English, and do not attack other ships which have not returned their guns according to rule, or the ships of Arabia and Muscat, with which two countries they have a long-standing enmity, and they attack each other whenever opportunity offers. If a ship from a distant port is wrecked and falls into their hands, they look upon it as their prey. But their greatest act of tyranny is this. If a subject of those misbelievers die, leaving young children, and no governing kin, the children are considered wards of the State. They take them to their place of worship, their churches, which they have built in every place, and the *pirâm*, that is to say the priests, instruct the children in the Christian religion, and bring them up in their own faith, whether the child be a Mandingo *wayô* or a Haïa *Arindane*. They also make them serve as slaves.

In the *Arê-dâh* Kordian, close to the sea, on the line and famous fort of Goa, falls greater number, and there is a captain there who exercises full power as the part of Portugal. They have also established some other posts and flourishing villages. Besides this, the Portuguese occupy the country from 14 or 15 leagues south of Surat to the mouth of the fort of Bombay, which belongs to the English, and to the border of the territories of the Râthas, which is called the *Wâh-dâh* Kordian. In the rear of the hills of Baglam, and in strong positions, difficult of access, near the fort of Gûlshahâd, they have built seven or eight other forts, small and great. Two of them, by name Daman and Diu, which they obtained by treaty from Sultan Bahâdur of Gujarat, they have made very strong, and the villages around are flourishing. Their possessions measure in length about 40 or 50 leagues, but they are not more than a league or a league and a half in width. They cultivate the skirts of the hills and grow the best products, such as sugar-cane, pine-apples, and rice, and coconut-trees, and betel-nut vines, or nut mushrooms, from which they derive a very large revenue.

They have made for use in their districts a silver coin called *shahî*, worth four annas. They also use bits of copper which they call *shahî*, and four of these always pass for a *shahî*. The rulers of the King (or *Indah*) are not current there. When the people there marry, the girl is given as the dowry, and they leave the management of all affairs, in the lowest and best of it, to their wives. They have only one wife, and concubinage is not permitted by their religion. . . .

The chief trouble to the Empire, as we saw under Shāh Jahan, was from the pirates of Chaguan. Besides the

(1) Pirates of Magh and Arrakhan, they included among Chaguan, them a good number of Portuguese and half-bred Adventurers. Evidently these had never been tamed by the severe measures taken by Aurangzeb's father. Indeed, when that emperor was asked by Shayista Khān, the Mughal Governor of Bengal, "What did the amir of the Magh fix as your salary?" the viceroy-*chief* had the audacity to reply, "Our salary was the Imperial dominion! We considered the whole of Bengal as our *pay*. All the twelve months of the year we made our collection [i.e., booty] without trouble. We had never to bother ourselves about *coins and coins*, nor had we to render accounts and balances to anybody. Perhaps ever water was [hard] money. We never declined the enhancement of our *rents*, *no*, booty. For years we have left no arrears of [this] service. We have with us papers of the division of the booty, village by village, for the last 25 years."¹

Mir Jafā, on account of his participation with the Afghan campaign and his sudden death, having failed to suppress these *Frang* pirates, Shayista Khān *divān* succeeded to the viceroyalty of Bengal on 25 March, 1684, determined to suppress them once for all. These creatures had become intolerable. Munim describes them as "men, hard of heart, accustomed to kill even little children without regret." The details of the campaign may be read in Sarkis.² On the morning of 25 January, 1685, the fort of Chaguan, the nest of the pirates (Magh and *Frang*), surrendered. "Large numbers of the persons of Bengal who had been carried off and kept prisoners here, were now released from the Magh oppression and returned to their homes." [Although-also?] "On 27 January, 1685, Husayn Urmud Khān entered the fort of Chaguan, reassured the people that their lives were safe, and firmly forbade the soldiers to oppress the people, in order to cause the place to be well populated and prosperous" (Shahabuddin). The place was re-named *Iskandābad*.

1. Sarkis, *Annals of Aurangzeb and Historical Bengal*, pp. 325-6.

2. From Shahabuddin Tabak's account as preserved in the *Maḥṣūn* MS. 269 and the *Alimghar-nama*—*Ibid.*, pp. 225-26.

3. "Pirates in the Western Seas at the reign of Aurangzeb," A. Duffin, *J. G. B.*, V, 4, Jan. 1732.

In the war with the Śūratras, as already noted, the Portuguese, being placed between two fires tried to

(1) Diplomatic isolation warlike from both without getting

involved. By way of illustration may be cited

the conduct of the Portuguese viceroy at the time of Jai Singh.

In reply to letters from the latter, in 1665, the former replied aver-

ring that he had sent orders to all the captains not to help Śūratra,

according to Jai Singh's request.¹ A treaty was signed, in January

1667, between the Portuguese and the Mughals, in which was agreed

among other things that the 'Portuguese should not protect (aiden,

to.) in their kingdom a man who rebels against the Mughal King,

and should consider him as a rebel against the Portugal King'.² Yet

before Aurangzeb made peace with Śūratra in March 1681 the

Portuguese had already come to terms with the Marathas in Decem-

ber 1667, a year after the treaty above referred to.³ But when

Sambhaji reunited Goa together with the rebellious Prince Akbar,

in 1683-4, the Portuguese again acted in concert with the Impera-

tor, and again came to terms with the Marathas.⁴ Nor were the

Mughals more consistent. Salih Adan plotted to seize Goa by

treachery. "This rupture with the Portuguese," observes Surier,

"was the worst mistake that the prince could have committed, be-

cause it ultimately caused the annihilation of his army through

famine. . . . The prince's only work in Konkan had been, as the

English merchants remark, 'to range to and fro, as he pleased, with

little resistance. He hath taken no stronghold but ruins the country,

lays all waste, and burns all houses he comes near.' The scarcity

in his camp reached an extreme point. The soldiers through fasting

retained only the last breath of their lives. So, the beleaguered prince

returned to the ghat on 20th February."⁵ The friendship of the

Portuguese towards the Marathas once again brought down the

Imperial arms into their Northern territory (Le Bando and

Daman), in 1693, when Matarbar Khán (the governor of Kalyán)

defeated their armies and made prisoners of their subjects. "The

viceroy of Goa at last made peace by humble submission to the

Emperor and the offer of presents."⁶

1. HERN. *A Treaty between Aurangzeb and the Portuguese*, p. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

4. Surier, *Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 279.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 280.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

The first English factory within the Mughal Empire was established at Surat in 1612. From there goods

5 The English were exchanged, by the land route, with Agra and Delhi. In the Golkonda kingdom they had an agency at Masulipatam. Further north they established a factory at Haridwar, 25 miles s. of Cutch, and another at Balasore in 1620. Outside the Empire they bought, in 1640, the site of Fort St. George (Madras), which was the first independent station in India. Hugh was opened in 1651, and *chikka* (or *order*) was obtained from Prince Shant (1652) permitting the English to trade in Bengal on payment of Rs. 2,000 annually in lieu of all kinds of customs and dues. The Bengal trade continued to grow rapidly: in 1668 the company exported from the province goods worth £24,000, in 1675 the value rose to £35,200; in 1677 to £120,000, and in 1680 to £180,000. . . The first British ship sailed up the Ganges from the Bay of Bengal in 1679.¹⁰

On the strength of the *chikka* above referred to the English began to claim exemption from all duties

10 War in Ben-
gal which led to friction and ultimately war. In March 1680 Aurangzeb had also issued a *farman* allowing the English, on payment of a consolidated duty of 2½ p.c. at Surat, to trade freely within the Empire. This was disastrously interpreted by the two parties. Besides, the English refused to pay exactions like *chikka*, *peishank*, *harakh*, etc., and protested against the practice (*banda-bandi*) of Imperial and local officials, opening packages of goods in transit and taking away articles at less than market price.

Commenting on this, Sir Johnsmith Barker observes: "On 10th April 1680 Aurangzeb issued an order that in all provinces there would be two uniform rates of customs duty on exports in future, namely 2½ p.c. for Madras and 5 p.c. for Hindia. The Mughal Government seems to have found it difficult to assess and levy the *sheke* per head from the Europeans in the same manner as from the Hindus, and consequently it seems to have offered them (March 1680) a compromise by turning the *sheke* into an addition to the export duty on their goods, raising the latter to 2½ p.c."

¹⁰ The *chikka* of the English in Bengal (a) to exempt the duty on the actual value of their imports by a fixed annual payment of Rs. 2000 (as conceded by Shuja in 1612) and (b) to trade abso-

fully free in all other parts of India on payment of customs in Surat (in violation of Aurangzeb's formula of 1687), are both false and indefensible on any reasoning."¹

But the English were determined to defend their position by force. A sample of their attitude is seen in Job Charnock's refusal to pay the sum of Rs. 45,000 decreed by an Indian judge against claims put forward by the Indian merchants and brokers employed by the E I Co. at Mithribazar (1684-85); consequently Charnock's factory was looted by Imperial troops in August 1685. The resident escaped to Hughli in April next. On 20th October 1686, the English provoked a fight and sacked the Moghul town of Hughli. Shayista Khan, on hearing of this, "declined to crush these disturbers of public peace." In December the English fell back on Satnadi (modern Calcutta). In February 1687 they traded the island of Hujli, where they assembled all their land and sea forces in the Bay of Bengal, and burnt and looted Balasore for two days. Finally, they were overwhelmed by Moghul troops, and on 11th June the English evacuated Hujli fort, "carrying off all their stores, arms and artillery, their drums beating and their banners flying!" In 1688 Job Charnock's place as Agent in Bengal was taken by Captain Heath who degraded the name of England by his great crimes, ill-treating Christians and non-Christians, men and women alike. Being killed in his protest of sending Charnock from the Moghuls, he sailed for Madras in sheer disgust (17th Feb. 1689).

The Emperor, on hearing of these hostile activities, at once ordered the arrest of all Englishmen, the seizure of all their factories, and the prohibition of all trade and intercourse with them. Within a year (Feb. 1690), 'The English [of Surat] having made a most humble, submissive petition... and [promised] that they would present the Emperor with a fine of Rs. 150,000 ... and behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner,... His Majesty pardoned their faults and agreed, ... that they follow their trade as in former times.' After this the English were allowed to return to Bengal and trade freely without any further trouble. Job Charnock came back from Madras to Satnadi as Agent on 16th August. "This was the foundation of Calcutta and of the British Power in Northern India. On 10th February 1690 an imperial order (*farman-nama*) was issued by the grand master to the deans of

¹ For fuller discussion see Sartor, *op. cit.*, pp. 405-6.

Bengal, allowing the English to carry on their trade in that province without molestation on paying Rs. 1,000 a year in lieu of all customs and other dues.¹ Although this was apparently a victory for the English it was evidently the outcome of the interference of Ibrahim Khan, the new Subahdar of Bengal, who was friendly to the English and had taken charge of the province in May 1609.

Sir Josiah Child, Chairman of the E. I. Co. in London, had been responsible for the spontaneous war in

(ii) War on the East Coast. He was successful, as we have pointed

out elsewhere in this book, to lay "the founda-

tion of a large, well-grounded, vast English dominion in India for all time to come." In the result, "The expedition, wisely planned and unfortunately in execution, was no other failure." Sir John Child, General and Director-in-Chief of English Factories in India, acting under instructions from home, led a smaller expedition with no more honourable results. On 25th April, 1607, he abandoned Surat ("a Jew's paradise") for Bombay ("the key of India"). He demanded from the Mughal Governor of Surat "compensation for past injuries and a new charter confirming and extending their privileges." The Mughal reply to such conduct was the obvious. The English factory at Surat was looted by Imperial troops, and the English factors, including among them Benjamin Horn, the Chief of Surat Council, were imprisoned and kept in prison for 16 months (Dec. 1606—April 1608). At the same time the Soldas of Junnagar, an ally of the Mughals, attacked Bombay (May 1607) and confined the English within their fort. "Governor Child, therefore, made an abject appeal for pardon, sending a mission to Aurangzeb under G. Welles and Abraham Narava (10th Dec. 1607). The Emperor pardoned them, by an order dated 25th December 1607. The English were removed to their old position in the Indian trade on condition of paying a fine of one-and-half lakhs of Rupees, and restoring the goods taken from Indian ships."²

European piracy in the Indian Ocean had commenced with

Vasco da Gama at the close of the 15th century.

(iii) English Piracy. "It excited no moral repudiation in Christians."³ In 1605, Cato, captain of an English

1. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

2. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, ix, 448.

3. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 411.

4. *Ibid.*

ship licensed by Charles I, plundered two Maghul vessels at the mouth of the Red Sea; and in 1635, Sir William Courten, with a smaller charter from the King of England, sent out four ships which added Indian vessels and captured their crews." For these raids the E. I Co. at Surat was obliged to pay an indemnity of Rs. 1,70,000.

'In the second half of the 17th century,' writes Surin, "an even more lawless race of men than the old Buccaneers appeared and extended their operations to the Indian Ocean, acting generally in single ships and plundering vessels of every nationality." Of these men, chiefly English, the most notorious were Teach, Swory, Kotal, Roberts, England and Tew, and many others less known to fame.

— Roberts alone was credited with the destruction of 400 trading vessels in three years... The chief cause of their immunity lay in the fact that it was business of nobody in particular to act against them. Their friends on shore supplied their wants and gave them timely information of rich prizes to be looked for, or armed ships to be avoided. Officials kept an actively watchful eye on their doings, from which they drew a profit... Not only were the greater number of prizes of English blood, but pirate captures of other nationalities often sailed under English colours. The native officials, unable to distinguish the rapine from the honest trader, held the E. I Co.'s servants responsible for their misdeeds."¹

In 1621 two private ships flying English colours secured a booty of 6 lakhs of Rupees in the Red Sea. The most notorious among these buccannars was Henry Bridgman (also Every). His crowning achievement, the capture of the *Gaspé-Smelt*, is thus described by John Kildin:—

'The royal ship called the *Gaspé-Smelt* than which there was no larger in the port of Surat, used to sail every year for the throne of God (at Mecca). It was now bringing back to Surat 52 tons of rupees in silver and gold, the produce of the sale of Indian goods at Mecca and Jeddah. The captain of this ship was Ibrahim Kildin. There were 50 guns and 400 soldiers on board, besides other equipments of war. It had come within 8 or 9 days of Surat, when an English ship came in sight of much smaller size, and not having a third or fourth part of the armament of the *Gaspé-Smelt*. When it came within gunshot a gun was fired at it from the royal ship. By accident the gun burst, and three or four men were killed by its fragments. About the same time a shot from the enemy struck and damaged the masts, so that the safety

¹ Surin, op. cit., p. 412.

of the vessel, agents. The Englishmen perceived this, and being so encircled by it, bore down to attack, and drawing their swords, jumped on board of their opponents. The Christians are not told in the text of the sword, and there were so many wounds on board the royal vessel that it is evident that many perished. They must have been defeated. But as soon as the English began to board, Ibrahim Khan ran down into the hold. There were some Turk girls whom he had brought in Mecca as concubines for himself. He put turbans on their heads and made use of their hands, and joined them to fight. These fell into the hands of the enemy, who soon became perfect masters of the ship. They transferred the weapons and many prisoners to their own ship. When they had taken their ship, they brought the royal ship to shore near one of their castles, and looked themselves for a week watching for phytos, stripping the men, and dishonouring the women, both old and young. They then left the ship, carrying off the men. Several honourable women when they found an opportunity threw themselves into the sea, to preserve their chastity, and some others killed themselves with knives and daggers.

This loss was reported to Aungmye, and the commanders of the port of Basse sent some reports which the English had raised at Bombay, with the inscription containing the name of their superior King. Aungmye then ordered that the English factors who were residing at Basse for commerce should be seized. Orders were also given to Ibrahim Khan, superintendent of the port of Basse, and Siddi Yakut Khan, to make preparations for besieging the fort of Bombay. The only sailors from the English acquisition of Bombay were of long standing. The English were not at all alarmed at the threatened. They knew that Siddi Yakut was defeated at some slight he had received. But they were more active than usual in building fortifications and walls, and in blocking up the roads, so that in the end they made the place quite impregnable. Ibrahim Khan saw all these preparations, and came to the conclusion that there was no remedy, and that a struggle with the English would result only in a heavy loss to the common revenue. He made no secret preparations for carrying the royal order into execution, and was not willing that even a crew should be lost to the service. To save appearances, he kept the English factors in confinement, but privately he endeavoured to effect an arrangement. After the confinement of their factors, the English, by way of respect, issued upon every Imperial officer, whenever they found one, do not or on shore, and kept them all in confinement. No matters went on for a long time.

The sequel is of peculiar interest to the authors of the narrative, on which we have so much depended, was furnished one of the persons employed in the negotiations.

(iv) Khali
Khalifa's Embassy.

"During these months," writes Kibbi Kibbi, "I, the writer of this work, had the satisfaction of seeing the English of Bombay, when I was acting as agent for Abder Ramah Khan at the post of Surat. I had purchased goods to the value of nearly two hundred rupees, and had to convey them from Surat to Abder Ramah, the Jeweler of Bâikin¹. My path was along the northern through the possessions of the Portuguese and the English. On arriving near Bombay, but while I was yet in the Portuguese territory, in consequence of a letter from Abder Ramah I waited ten or twelve days for the agent of Beh Yalut Khan. Abder Ramah had been on friendly terms with an Englishman in his old Har-darabad days, and he had now written to him about giving assistance to the caravan. The Englishman sent out the brother of his above, very kindly willing me to visit him. The Portuguese captain and my companions were averse to my going there with such valuable property. I, however, put my trust in God, and went to the Englishman. I told the above's brother, that if the conversation turned upon the capture of the ship, I might have to say unpleasant things, for I would speak the truth. The Englishman's wife advised me to say freely what I deemed right, and to speak nothing but the truth.

"When I entered the fortress, I observed that from the gate there was on each side of the road a line of youths, of twelve or fourteen years of age, well dressed, and having excellent weapons on their shoulders. Every step I advanced, young men with spearing heads, handbombs and well clothed, with fine muskets in their hands, were visible on every side. As I went onwards, I found Englishmen standing with long beards, of slender age, and with the same accoutrements and dress. After that I saw musketeers (*Armedatari*), well dressed and arranged, drawn up in ranks. Further on I saw Englishmen with white beards, clothed in hussars, with muskets on their shoulders, drawn up in two ranks, and in perfect array. Next I saw some English children, handbombs, and musket powder on the borders of their hats. In the same way, on both sides, as far as the door of the house where he abode, I found drawn up in ranks on both sides nearly 2,000 Europeans dressed and equipped as for a battle.

"I then went straight up to the place where he was seated on a chair. He waited me Good-day, his usual form of salutation; then he rose from his chair, embraced me, and signed for me to sit down on a chair to the left of him. After a few brief responses, our discourse turned upon different things, pleasant and unpleasant, bitter and sweet; but all he said was in a kind and friendly spirit towards Abder Ramah. He inquired why his father had been placed in confinement. Knowing that God and the Prophet of Allah would protect me, I answered "Although you do not acknowledge that shameful action, worthy of the reputation of all mankind now, which was perpetrated by your wicked men, that question you have put to me is as if a wise man should ask where the

1. This was the identical Abder Ramah of Calcutta house who had then resounded himself to the Emperor's court.

was as when all the world is filled with his rage." He replied, "Those who have an ill-feeling against me cast upon me the blame for the fault of others. How do you know that the deed was the work of my men? By what satisfactory proof will you establish this?" I replied, "Is that ship I had a number of wealthy passengers, and two or three poor ones destitute of all worldly wealth. I heard from them that when the ship was plundered, and they were taken prisoner, some were in the dress and with the looks of Englishmen, and on whose hands and bodies there were marks, wounds, and scars, and in their own language 'We got these scars at the time of the siege of Sikh Yakt, but to-day the scars have been removed from our hands.' A person who was with them knew Hindi and Persian, and he translated their words to my friends."

"On hearing this, he laughed loudly, and said, "It is true they may have said so. They are a party of Englishmen, who, having received wounds in the siege of Yakt Khila, were taken prisoner by him. Some of them parted from me, joined the Wakti, and became Musulmans. They stayed with Yakt Khila some time, and then ran away from him. But they had not the face to come back to me. How they have gone and taken part with the disreputable or wicked, who lay violent hands on ships upon the sea, and with them, they are serving as pirates. Your sovereign's officers do not understand how they are acting, but cast the blame upon me."

"I smilingly replied, "What I have heard about your readiness of reply and your wisdom, I have (now) seen. All praise to your ability for giving off hand, and without consideration, such an impetuous and available answer! But you must recall to mind that the banditory kings of Bhopal and Haidarabad and the good-for-nothing Nizam have not escaped the hands of King Amerragah. Is the island of Bombay a safe refuge?" I added, "What a manifest declaration of rebellion you have shown in calling upon!"

"He replied, "We have to send every year a large sum of money, the profits of our commerce, to our country, and the taxes of the King of Musulman are of short weight, and much debased, and in this island, in the course of buying and selling them, great expenses arise. Consequently we have placed our own names on the coins, and have made them current as our own jurisdiction." A good deal more conversation passed between us, and part of it seemed to vex him, but he showed himself throughout very thoughtful of Akbar Khand Khila, and mindful of his obligation to protect him. When the interview was over he proffered me entertainment as their custom; but as I had resolved from the first that I would not depart from the usual course in the present interview, I accepted only air and idle and was glad to escape."

Khila Khila concludes this account with the following note:—
 "The total revenue of Bombay, which is chiefly derived from betelnuts and coco-nuts, does not reach to two or three lacs of rupees. The profits of the commerce of these muselmans, according to re-

port, does not exceed twenty tons of silver. The balance of the money required for the maintenance of the English settlement is obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God, at which they take one or two every year. When the ships are proceeding to the ports of Motha and Jeddah laden with the goods of Hindustan, they do not interfere with them, but when they return bringing gold and silver and diamonds and rubies, their eyes have found out which ship bears the richest burden, and they attack it.¹

The culprits when they could be caught were imprisoned, the E. I. Co's factors and officers were intimidated, impressed or threatened with extradition, but

(1) *Mughal
Tahsil*

European piracy continued triumphant in Indian waters in the absence of a strong Indian navy. After the Geyssens's incident, in September 1683, the Dutch proffered to clear the sea in return for exclusive rights of trading within the Empire free of all duty; but the Emperor declined the offer. An agreement, on the other hand, was made with the English for a similar responsibility in return for half the running cost of each double voyage of the exporting ship. Consequently all the English prisoners were set at liberty on 20th June, 1684. But the same year saw the renewal of piracy in a more virulent form under Captain William Kidd, "destined to blazon into the most redoubtable pirate who ever breathed the honour of England".² He had been sent out by a syndicate of English noblemen on the *Affronter*, a very strong 30-gun vessel, to destroy piracy in the Indian Ocean.³ "Arriving off Calicut early in 1685, he took to a life of piracy, shamelessly describing his robberies as legitimate acts of privateering authorised by the King of England. Kidd's success drew many restless English seamen into his party. Distributing his forces with the skill of a sea strategist, Captain Kidd dominated the Indian Ocean with his man-of-war and stores drawn from a base in Madagascar. "All told, the pirate fleet mounted 120 guns, and was manned by not less than 500 Europeans, of whom the great majority were Englishmen."⁴

Finally, in December 1686, Aurangzeb Khan, the Mughal governor of Surat, remonstrated the European factories and gave them an ultimatum either to give an undertaking to guard the seas or to

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 330-34.

² *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

3. *Ibid.*

leave the country within ten days. Consequently "the English, French and Dutch agreed to act in concert to suppress piracy, and signed bonds by which they jointly engaged to make good all damage done. On returning this agreement, Aurangzeb renewed his exchange on European trade in the Moghul dominions, and he wrote to the Surat governor to settle the matter in his own way. In the terms of this agreement, 'the Dutch conveyed the Mocha pilgrims and patroled the entrance to the Red Sea, besides paying Rs. 70,000 to the governor of Surat; the English paid Rs. 30,000 and patroled the South Indian coast, while the French made a similar payment and patroled the Persian Gulf.'"¹

Nevertheless, "a return prepared in January 1702 showed that the captives at Surat numbered 109 persons, including 24 English officials of the Company . . . and 15 women." Sir John Caper was imprisoned for 6 years from February 1704, with a few others, but this was mainly due to the machinations of Sir Nicholas Wrote, President, of a new rival English Company established at Surat on 4th April 1699. An ambassador from the King of England, Sir William Norris, waited upon Aurangzeb for 16 months (from 27 Jan. 1700 to April 1701), but with no result. Another justified outrage was committed off Surat, on 28th Aug. 1705, when two ships returning from Mocha were captured. By way of indemnity, Isfhar Khan, the governor of Surat, extracted, from Vitell and Keshav Parikh (the Old English Company's brokers), 3 lacs of rupees, and another 3 lacs immediately from the Dutch. But when Aurangzeb heard of this, he disapproved of Isfhar's action and set aside the agreement of 3000 under which the indemnity was demanded. Misadventures of this nature with consequent punishments, followed by practical reprisals, continued, and Aurangzeb realised the helplessness of the situation in the absence of a strong Imperial navy. But he was too much pre-occupied with his Deccan war. Khif Khif notes with much concern, "The Mahometans also possessed the well-built forts of Kuttaden, Kolah, Kasa, and Katora, in the sea opposite the island fortresses belonging to the Hebeles. Their warlike cruises about these forts, and attack vessels whenever they get the opportunity. The unknown ship, who are sometimes called *Iskandari*, a hearse set of men belonging to Surat, in the province of Ahmedabad, are renowned for their pluck and they attack from time to

1. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

Even the small ships which come from Bandar Abbas and Muscat. They do not venture to attack the large ships which carry the pilgrims. The European English act in the same way as the sailors."

V. THE RIDDLE OF AURANGZEB

Aurangzeb's character was a great enigma even to his closest patients; we are hardly in a better position to

A Great King correctly understood him. His reign was a dilemma in contrasts. To borrow the familiar antithesis from Dickens, *It* was the best of times, *it* was the worst of times, *it* was the age of wisdom, *it* was the age of foolishness, *it* was the epoch of belief, *it* was the epoch of incredulity, *it* was the season of Light, *it* was the season of Darkness, *it* was the spring of hope, *it* was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way—in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its wildest surmises terminated in its being received, for good or for evil, as the superlative degree of comparison only."

Only, on the throne of Delhi, instead of there being 'a king with a large jaw,' there was one with a large nose' and an *yingling* *jan*. 'the queen with a plain face' was simply out of the picture.

A modern writer has pronounced Aurangzeb "a puzzling, composed of contradictions."¹ Bernier found him, "reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation." He further said that "every person in the court, excepting only his brother, Dillai, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character." This should be sufficient caution for all modern critics of Aurangzeb's strange enigmatic character. We shall here only make an attempt to present the imperial character in all his challenging colours, instead of trying to dogmatise.

Aurangzeb's letters, of which over 3,000 are extant, are an

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 333.

2. De Gondi Courville, who saw Aurangzeb on 22nd March 1665 in the Deccan, speaks of his white beard, *bearded* *speech*, contrasting vividly with his other title: "he was of a low stature, with a large nose, slender and stopping with age."—Laroche, op. cit., p. 176.

3. Laroche, *Aurangzeb*, p. 37.

4. Bernier, *Paradee*, p. 10.

available document throwing abundant light upon his marvellous character. In one of these, written to his father

Aomogoshi's State Japan, he writes, "It is clear to your
Diary of Kingship. Majesty that God Almighty bestows His blessing upon one who discharges the duty of cherishing His subjects and protecting the people. It is manifest and clear to wise men that a ruler is not fit to be a shepherd, and that no poor-spirited man can perform the great duty of governing. Sovereignty signifies protection of the people, not self-indulgence and libertinism."¹

To an officer who suggested to Aomogoshi that, for consideration of health, he should spare himself, he is reported to have said:

"Being born the son of a King and placed on the throne, I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others; it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are there to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State." He also added, "There can easily be but one opinion among wise men as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his care. . . . Alas! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence, we need no such officious counselors. Our wise, too, are men to assist us in trodding the flowery path of ease and luxury!"

Again, in another letter to his father, Aomogoshi expressed his sense of the responsibilities of kingship thus:—"My elevation to the throne has not, as you imagine, filled me with insolence and pride. You know, by more than forty years' experience, how burdensome some an onerous burden it is, and with how few of the world as heart a man valued from the public good . . . the greatest ac- quests are not always the greatest things. The nations of the earth have often been subjugated by more unscrupulous barbarians, and the most extensive conquests have in a few short years crumbled to pieces. He is the truly great king who governs the people in the best interests of the State to promote the public good with equity"

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 323.

2. *Ibid.*, op. cit., pp. 323-24.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 323-24.

That these were no idle sentiments diplomatically expressed to
 Emperor Isidore is obvious from the world is borne out by the wise regu-
 lations he made for the guidance of his revenue
 officials. That he had also striven to set an
 example to them has been amply demonstrated by his own civil
 achievements as Viceroy of the Deccan. We have space only for
 a few of these by way of illustration.

REVENUE REGULATIONS

I

"The officers of the present and future realm of Hindia
 must learn and to end, should collect the revenues and other [dues] from
 the subjects in the proportion and manner fixed in the Revenue Law
 and shewing orthodox Faith, and [remembering] that whatever has been enacted
 and sanctioned in this paternal mandate in pursuance of the sacred and
 unimpaired Tradition—

And they should not demand new orders every year, but should
 consider delay and procrastination as the cause of their disgrace in this
 world and the next.

First.—"They should practice benevolence to the cultivators, inquire
 into their condition, and exert themselves judiciously and tactfully, so
 that [the cultivators] may joyfully and heartily try to increase the cul-
 tivation, and every article that may be brought under tillage

[Commentary on the margin].—"Concerning what has been written
 in the first clause the wish of the great Emperor is, "display friendliness
 and good management which are the causes of the increase of cultivation
 And that [friendliness] consists in this that under no name or colour
 should you take a dinar or denari above the fixed amount and rate. By
 no means should the crops be oppressed or molested in any way. The
 manager of affairs at the place should be a protector [of crops] and
 not [in carrying out these orders]."

Second.—".... If you find that the peasants are unable to produce
 the implement of tillage, advance to them money from the State in the
 form of a loan after taking security.

Third.—".... [Commentary].—"As the Emperor likes
 industry and justice, he has ordered that the officers should kindly wait
 for one year [for the return of a fugitive crop] and, in the case of [direct
 cultivation or loan, they should pay to him any surplus left above the
 Government revenue.]

1. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 110-111. The article con-
 taining these was issued in 1601-02 A.D.

Smith.—In places where no lake or stream has been laid on a cultivated land, he whenever ought to be fixed according to the *Shiky Law*. If it be stream, for the revenue of said land, he should that the crops may not be ruined by the payment of it; and for no reason exceed half (the crop), even though the land may be capable of paying more. When the amount is fixed, accept it, provided that if it is through the Government there should not exceed one-half, but the crops be ruined by the stream. Otherwise reduce the former share and for whatever the crops can really pay. If the land is capable of paying more than the fixed [amount] do not take more.

Shimoda.—You may change fixed revenue (Mussou) into share of crop (Muganawa), or vice versa, if the crops agree to it. Otherwise not.

Nishi.—In lands subject to fixed land revenue, if any non-perventable calamity overtake a year, shall you ought to exempt entirely, and grant remission to the extent of the calamity, as required by such and the nature of the case. And in reducing portions from the demand, see that it not exceed [of the produce] may be left to the crops.

(Commentary.—) In the case of floods which have been fixed, or when the rain-water has been exhausted, or any non-perventable calamity has co-operated the crop before reaping, so that the crops has incurred nothing, nor has time enough left for a second crop to be sown before the beginning of the new year—consider the revenue as remitted. . . .

VI

Shiki-shu thereby and obedient to follow, hope for Imperial favour and grace—

—That all the desires and aims of the Emperor are directed to the increase of cultivation, and the welfare of the peasantry and the people at large, who are the mainstay of the State and a trust from the Heaven (pleased to see same),

..... (Similar regulations). . . .

Tanaka.—Report the names of those among the monks and heads of the *shikido*, who have served with uprightness and devotion, and by observing the established rules in every matter have passed themselves good officers—so that on the result may be rewarded according to their attention to the gain of the State and their honesty. But if any have acted in the opposite manner, report the fact to the Emperor, that they may be dismissed from the service, put on their defence and explanation [of their conduct], and correct the punishments of their irregular acts.

Tanaka.—With great diligence gather together the papers of the month at the night time. In the village in which you stay, every day send from the officers the daily account of the collection of revenue and crop and grain current, and from the other purposes the daily account.

1. 12. If the normal produce is 10 *mon*, and 4 *mon* have been destroyed by any calamity, take only, not as normal.

of the collection of revenue and such (unspecified) every fourth, and the balance in the treasury of Jichidai and the same must keep every month, and the limit of the local revenue and the same limit (annual revenue settlement) and the income and expenditure of the treasury, of the Jichidai system by means. After looking through their papers demand the returning of whatever has been spent without being accounted for, and then send them to the Imperial Record Office. Do not leave the papers of the spring harvest accumulated up to the autumn harvest."

It must have been clear to the reader from the above evidence that Aungmye had the right perspective for the role of an agricultural land like ours. Despite the loss in revenue it involved, Aungmye, it is well known, soon after his accession, visited no less than 80 different towns and districts. "The movements of large armies through the country, especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two years past, and scarcity of rain in some parts," observes Khin Khin, "had combined to make grain dear. To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the *validai* (toll) which was collected on every highway (passer), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the *pasidai*, a ground or house tax, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter, and the green-grower, to the draper, jeweller, and hinker. Something was paid according to rule under this name for every lot of ground in the market, for every stall and shop, and the total revenue thus derived exceeded ten (of rapers). Other taxes levied and untoleral, as the *sur-shandi*, *han-shandi*, *ku gah*, the *shandi* (grazing tax) of the *Beijians*, the *han'san*, the collections from the fairs held at the fortress of Muhammadan cities, and at the fairs or fairs of the *validai*, held near Hindu temples, throughout the country for and wolf, where ten of people assemble once a year, and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on. The tax on spirits, on peddling-houses, on brokers, the dues, thank offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in more of rapers to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindustan. Besides these, the title of dues, which heretofore brought in twenty-five lots of rapers, was remitted to alleviate the heavy and of grain."

In spite of stringent orders, however, many of these prohibitions were continued to be evaded by selfish local officials. ¹ K'ang-shih gives two reasons for this: 'Firstly, because throughout the Imperial domains in the reign of Aungmye, no law and dread of punishment remained in the hearts of *shih-shih*, *jan-shih* and *shih-shih*. Secondly, because the revenue officers, through intention or want of consideration or with an eye to profit contrary to what was intended, made deductions (for their secret) from the *shih-shih* accounts of the *shih-shih*. So the *shih-shih*, under the pretext that the amount of the dues was entered in their *shih-shih* *shih-shih*, continued to collect the *shih-shih* and many other of the debased imports, and even increased them. When reports reached the government of infractions of these orders, (the offenders) were punished with a deduction of *shih-shih*, and the delegation of *shih-shih* to their districts. The *shih-shih* began to evade the collection of the reports for a few days, and then retired. After a while, the officials, through their powers or the management of their agents, got their *shih-shih* restored to its original amount. So the regulations for the abolition of most of the imports had no effect.'²

Law-Poole's comments on this are worthy of attention. "Official critics," he observes, "have explained Aungmye's official policy as an ingenious contrivance to carry favour with the people without impoverishing the treasury. Dr. Cairns went so far as to the opinion that the Emperor reserved all his Aungmye's misdeeds in order to gain their support. A certain amount of conciliation of powerful clans, and even working at their irregularities is inseparable from a quasi-feudal administration, and Aungmye may have felt himself compelled sometimes to shut his eyes to worse things should happen. The plain interpretation, however, of the revision of laws as an act of leniency directed by the Emperor's indignation of benevolence to 'the needy and the son of the earth' is simpler and more consistent with all we know of the Emperor's disposition. He was not the man to commit an illegal collection on the oppression of the poor." We are disposed to agree. Aungmye's wise counsel to his son Shih-shih Aung may be taken as representing his correct attitude in such matters. 'An Emperor ought to stand

1. *U. S. D. op. cit.*, p. 144.

2. Law-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-1.

selfishness between gentleness and severity. If either of these two qualities excludes the other, it becomes a cause of the ruin of his *Ukha* because in case of excessive gentleness, the people display *maladiga*, while the ignorance of business seems every where."

Not merely Indian writers but also foreigners bear testimony to the fair administration of justice under Aurangzeb's Justice.¹ Orington, "who derived his opinions and information from Aurangzeb's 'most partial critics, the English merchants at Bombay and Surat,' says that the Great Mogul "is, the main organ of justice... His personal disinterestedness with exact justice and equity, for there is no pleading of privilege or prerogative before the Emperor, but the minutest case is as soon heard by Aurangzeb as the chief Officer: which makes the Officer's very contempt of their actions and personal in their payments."² The author of the *Windi-i Aham*, Bakhtawar Khān, gives us the following picture of Aurangzeb the Judge:—

"In his sacred Court no improper conversation, no word of backbiting or of dissension is allowed. His audience on whom his rights is selected, are cautioned that if they have to say anything which might injure the character of an absent one, they should express themselves in discreet language and in full detail. He appears two or three times every day in his Court of Audience with a pleasing countenance and mild look, to dispense justice to complainants who come in numbers without hesitations, and as he listens to them with great attention, they make their representations without any fear or hesitation, and obtain redress from his impartiality. If any person talks too much, or acts in an improper manner, he is never displeased, and he never hurts his hearer. His courtiers have often dared to prohibit people from standing so much before him, but he remarks that by hearing their very words, and seeing their gestures, he acquires a habit of fortitude and tolerance. All bad characters are expelled from the city of Delhi, and the same is ordered to be done in all places throughout the whole empire. The duties of preserving order and regularity among the people are very efficiently attended to, and throughout the empire notwithstanding its great extent nothing can be done without meeting with the due punishment imposed

1. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, p. 54. Or. as he expressed it in other words:—"There is no talk that [your subject] would get you out of their words; nor be so weak that their own words run down." *Ibid.*, p. 51.

2. "Acknowledgment of Justice to the Mogul Emperor" by Riaz Shams, *Calcutta Review*, March 1861. Also by the same writer: "Administration of Justice in Aurangzeb's time," in *E. H. Q.*, XXI, 2 (June 1941), pp. 194-5.

3. Orington, p. 118, cited by Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

by the Mohammedan law "under the shadow of sugar and justice he must drink waters of death."

This character is further outlined by Dr. Carter, who saw him in the Decree in 1886. Seated upon a square gilt throne, raised five steps above the floor, reclined with silver cushions, "they gave him his scepter and baton, which he laid down on his left side within the throne. Then he made a sign with his hand for those that had business to draw near; who being come up, two servants standing, took their positions, which they delivered to the King, telling him the contents. I never'd to see him dispose them with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seemed to be pleased with the employment."

Great and incessant activity is a desideratum to good achievement. Aurangzeb shared this quality of his forefathers. Both Akbar and Shah Jahan never spared themselves, Hamdlyar's and Jahangir's love of ease were the cause of their comparative failure. Sher Shah made his mark by his watchful and unceasing labours. Aurangzeb, if ever he needed the lesson, knew his history well. "An emperor," he told his son Muhammad, "should never allow himself to be fond of ease and inclined to retirement, because the most fatal cause of the decline of kingdoms and the destruction of royal power is this undesirable habit. Always be moving about, as much as possible."

It is bad for both emperors and water to remain at the same place.

The water grows putrid and the king's power slips out of his control."

His motto appears to have been like that of his great western contemporary Louis XIV, whom he resembled in many ways (except in the Parliament—"THE KING will hard to sleep," that it is a sign of God and providence from God, injected that they to work man to with to sign without hard work." Aurangzeb himself wrote—"So long as a single breath of this mortal life remains, there is no release from labour and work." Here is his daily routine as given by Prof. Barker:—

1. E. A. B., op. cit., VII, p. 126.

2. Lays-Poole, op. cit., p. 224.

3. *Journal, Aurangzeb*, p. 26.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

A. M.

- 5 Wake-up—Morning Prayer—Devotional reading.
 7-80 Justice in Private Chamber.
 8-30 Justice—Review—Elephant Fight.
 9-15 Public Despatch.
 11 Private Audiences.
 11-30 Meals—Siesta.

P. M.

- 3 Later Prayer.
 3-30 Private Chamber—Study—Despatch—Just. Private—State
 office.
 5-30 Evening salute in the Private Audience Hall—Siesta
 Prayer.
 6-45 Seize in the District-EdMs.
 7-80 Court dismissed—Later Prayer.
 8 In On Harem—Religious meditation—Sleep.

"This routine was varied on three days of the week. On Friday, the Islamic Festival, no Court was held. Wednesday was sacred to justice, and no public despatch was then held, but the Emperor went straight from the despatch to the Private Audience Hall, charged with the Law Officers, chief magistrates, scholars, linguists (advisers), judges, and the Prefect of Police for the City. There also was admitted unless his presence was needed. The Emperor went on personally judging cases till noon.

"On Thursday he gave his Court at half-past five, as we got on Saturday in British India. The usual routine was followed up to noon, but there was no afternoon Court, nor any assembly in the *Despatch-EdMs* at night. The whole evening was spent in prayer and sacred reading, and the world and its distractions were kept out.

"If we may believe the Court histories (although untrue), Aurangzeb kept only three hours out of twenty-four."

Through half-a-century of Imperial rule, through war and peace, through sickness and health, through sorrows and ruin, Aurangzeb strictly adhered to his terms of duty and passion for work. History records a wonderful illustration:—

"*Aurangzeb, notwithstanding his serious indisposition, continued to occupy his mind with the affairs of Government, and the safe custody of his treasure. He earnestly advised Sultan Mahmud, in the name of his death, to release the King from confinement; but he was constantly directing letters to Khurram, urging him to be faithful and rigid in the discharge of his duty, and on the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of his disorder, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the Council, for the purpose of exhorting those who might believe in his death, and of preventing a public tumult, or any accident by which Shah-Jahan might effect his escape. The next morning informed him to visit*

that usually on the 10th, 15th and 18th days; and, what appears almost incredible on the 18th day, when severely harassed from a cannon at day and night that his death was generally expected, he sent for the *Espe* [Jesúsque], and two or three of the principal *Guachis*, for the purpose of writing his testament. He then desired the attendants to leave him in the bed, called for paper and ink that he might write to *El Rey* [sic], and dispatched a messenger for the *Gran-Sal*, which was placed under Francisco Negro's care enclosed in a small bag, which was impressed with a signet which he always kept fastened to his arm; making it strictly known that the Princess had not made use of this instrument to procure any similar drops. 'I was present,' continues Bessler with great admiration, 'when my April leaves separated with all these particulars and heard him exclaim, "what strength of mind! what invincible courage! Heaven spare thee, *Amarapala*, for greater achievements!" Thus art not yet destined to die!'

Sarkis remarks, "Historians have observed that though he died in his 50th year, he (*Amarapala*) retained to the last almost all his faculties unimpaired. His recovery was wonderful; 'he never forgot a fact he had once seen or a word that he had once heard.' All his physical powers retained their vigour to the end, except a slight deafness of the ear, which afflicted him in 1814, and a lameness of the right leg, which was due to his doctor's unsuitable treatment of an accidental dislocation."

Edgworth writes, "In reviewing these bloody undertakings, it is impossible not to admire the persevering spirit with which *Amarapala* bore up against the difficulties and hardships that over shadowed his declining years. He was near sixty-five when the *Guerra de la Independencia* began on this long war and had obtained no military merit or gained his retirement of *Amargosa*. The *Impresiones* and sieges were little suited to such an age, and, in spite of the display of the luxury in his camp baggage, he suffered hardships that would have tried the constitution of a younger man. . . . The impossible streams, the flooded valleys, the many batters and narrow ways caused still greater difficulties. The violent bursts in lands and during marches, were disastrous at other seasons, and often rendered overpowering by failure of water; general famines and pestilence came more than once, in addition to the scarcity and violence to which his own camp was often held; and all was aggravated by accidents of the havoc and destruction committed by the enemy in the mountains beyond the reach of these

1. *Senar, Travels*, pp. 125-6.

2. *Sarkis, Short History of Amarapala*, p. 462.

violations. But in all these discouragements Aurangzeb retained his vigour. He alone conducted every branch of his government: in the most minute detail. He planned campaigns, and issued instructions during their progress, drawings of forts sent for him to fix up the points of attack, his letters ordered managers for keeping open the roads in the Afghan country, for quelling disturbances at Multan and Agra, and even for recovering possession of Candahar; and, at the same time, there is scarcely a detachment marches or a conveyance moves in the Deccan without some orders from Aurangzeb's own hand.

"The appointment of the lowest revenue officer of a district, or the selection of a clerk in an office, is not beneath his attention, and the conduct of all these functionaries is watched, by means of spies and of prying inquiries from all corners, and they are constantly kept on the alert by admonitions founded on such information. This attention to particulars is not favourable to real progress of business, any more than it is conducive of enlarged genius, but considered, as it was in Aurangzeb, with unswerving vigilance in all the great affairs of the State, it shows an activity of mind that would be wonderful at any age."¹

All that has been stated above should go to substantiate Laro-

Aurangzeb's
Character.

Pode's just estimate of Aurangzeb being "in-
comparably his father's superior—a wiser man,
a juster king, a more eloquent and benevolent

ruler." "His greatest admirer Miran," he adds, "admits that
highest was WILLIAM PODE." "His father states, "All we know of
the methods of government," goes to prove that his fine sentiments
were really the ruling principles of his life. No act of injustice
according to the law of India, has been proved against him." Even
Dunster does not fail to observe, "yet even those who may maintain
that the cruelties of country, both and education afford no
palliation of the conduct pursued by Aurangzeb (towards his

1. In his last will and testament Aurangzeb wrote:—"The main pillar of government is to be well informed in the affairs of the kingdom. I have given for a single moment, however the cause of disputes for long years. The escape of the world keeps each place through (my) carelessness and I have to bring light (against the Marathas) to the end of my life, for the work of it."—*Journal, Aurangzeb*, p. 39.

2. *Autobiography, Memoirs of Podé*, pp. 255-6.

3. *Laro-Pode*, vol. vi., p. 55.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

father and brothers), must admit that this Prince is *endowed with a versatile and rare genius, that he is a consummate politician, and a great King*¹. If the writer of his *Autobiography* is correct, Salih Jahar, too, appears to have known that 'the ambition and intelligence of Arslanpasha made it necessary that he (alone) would undertake this difficult task (of ruling India)'². Deydier only translates this statement into verse when he writes:

This Atlas must our rising state uphold;
Is counsel cool, but in performance bold;
He runs their (his brothers') netwre in himself alone

Despite that, however, it is also true as V. A. Smith, writes: "When he is judged as a sovereign-ruler, he pronounced a failure"³. M. J. Khan Khan is emphatic "his merits as an administrator and his demands in the practical government of his empire". Hence, 'in spite of his devotion, sincerity, and justice, courage, long-suffering and moral judgment, every plan and project that he formed came to little good, and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object' (Khan Khan). Smith adds "The measures of the friendly Muhammadan allies do not relieve the lot of Arslanpasha's defects as a ruler". But we may not agree with him in his examination of all the details.

"He never trusted anybody, and consequently was ill served. His cold, calculating temperament rarely permitted him to indulge in love for man or woman, and he seldom wrote the persons who loved him. His reliance on mere cunning as the principal instrument in statecraft resulted in a certain weakness of mind, and, moreover was ineffective in practice. Although he had every opportunity for showing military distinction, he failed to show ability as a general whether before or after his accession. His proceedings in the Deccan during the latter part of his life were simply ridiculous in military operations. In fact, nothing in the history of Arslanpasha justifies posterity in calling him a great King. His truly cunning was mainly directed, first to winning, and then to keeping the throne. He did nothing for literature or art. Rather it should be said that he did less than nothing, because he dis-couraged both."⁴

1. Dumas, *French*, p. 128.

2. Indian *Autobiography*, pp. 43-44.

3. Smith, *Indian History of India*, pp. 447-48.

To completely deny Asaragadh all title to particular sounds is absurd. The disposition of his last campaigns need not cling on to his earlier military achievements, both as Prince and as Emperor. Asaragadh's great weakness was, indeed, his susceptibility, the natural contrary to which was over-qualification in various trades, both civil and military. Not given his energy and intellectual power, this need not have proved fatal; it was a weakness common to his tribe—lack of power and counterbalancing ambition. There was undoubtedly a certain lack in his character—"a certain weakness of mind," noted—the propensity and openness to mind changes to all his professions. It was on account of this that "all his self-restraint, his sense of duty, his equity, and his sense of his people, counted for nothing in their hearts against his evil whims and desires." "His very asceticism and economy and simplicity of life were repugnant to a nation accustomed to the splendour of Sâhâ Jahâh's magnificent court. The minds of his subjects felt that if they must have an alien as ruler and religion for their king, at least let him show himself a king right visibly, and shed his sovereign robes on his subjects, even while he emptied their purses upon his steady pleasures. This was just what *Asaragadh* could not do. The very influence of his nature kept his people at a distance, while his inflexible uprightness and rigid virtue chilled their hearts."

In the ultimate analysis, it is possible to attribute all Asaragadh's failures and defects to his religious character. "His character," says Lane-Poole, "is that of the Parthian, with all its fiery zeal, its ascetic restraint, its self-denial, its uncompromising rigidity of righteous purpose, its high ideal of conduct and duty; and also with its cold severity, its curbed impulses, its harshness, its morbid distrust of 'poor human nature,' its essential unreluctance. Asaragadh possessed many great qualities, he possessed all the virtues, but he was lacking in the one thing needed in a leader of men; he did not love love. Such a cold and unreluctant as empire, but he never won the hearts of men."

IDEAL MUSLIM MONARCH

The reader will be deeply rewarded for his patience to go

through the following description of the Emperor, dwelling on the sobriety of his character —

‘It is known to the readers of this work,’ writes Sakuma Kiye, *author of the Mirror of Asia*, ‘that this humble slave of the Almighty is going to describe in a correct manner the excellent character, the worthy labours and the refined morals of this most virtuous monarch, Aburatsubo, for Making the Mohammedan sovereigns *‘Alim*, according to his own witness, those with his own eyes. This Emperor, a great worshipper of God by natural propensity, is remarkable for his rigid attachment to religion. He is a follower of the doctrine of India, *‘Alim*, *‘Alim*, (my God be pleased with him !), and establishes the five fundamental doctrines of the *‘Alim*. Having made his ablutions, he always accepts a great part of his time in adoration of the Deity, and says the usual prayers, first in the mosque and then at home, both in congregation and in private, with the most heartfelt devotion. He keeps the appointed fasts on Fridays and other sacred days, and he reads the Friday prayer in the Great Mosque with the common people of the Mohammedan faith. He keeps vigils during the whole of the sacred nights, and with the light of the favour of God illumines the lands of religion and prosperity. . . .

‘In privacy he never eats on the throne. He gives away in alms before his accession a portion of his allowance of lawful food and clothing, and now devotes to the same purpose the income of a few villages in the district of Delhi, and the proceeds of two or three salt-producing tracts, which are appropriated to his pious purse. . . . and although, on account of several obstacles, he is unable to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, yet the care which he takes to promote facilities for pilgrims to that holy place may be considered equivalent to the pilgrimage.

‘From the dawn of his understanding he has always refrained from prohibited meats and practices, and from his great holiness has adopted nothing but that which is pure and legal. Though he has collected at the foot of his throne those who accept sacrament as popes reception of penance, in the shape of singers who possess lovely voices and deliver musical performances, and in the commencement of his reign some were used to have them sing and play, and though he himself understands music well yet now for several years past, on account of his great忙碌 and still denser, and obscurity of the hearts of the great ladies (*Shahis*), (may God’s mercy be on her !), he entirely abstained from this amusement. If any of the singers and musicians becomes unfaithful of his calling, he makes an allowance for him or grants him food for his maintenance.

‘He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion, nor does he wear any vessels of silver or gold. . . . In consideration of these rules and more he shows much honour and respect to the *‘Alim*, *‘Alim*, and learned men and through his ecclesiastical and moral doctrines, the sublime doctrines of *‘Alim* and of his pure religion have obtained such prevalence throughout the wide territories of Hindustan as they never had in the reign of any former king.

Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding Public office, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of their idolatrous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites amazement at the successful completion of so difficult a task. His Majesty generously teaches the sacred belief to many infidels with interest, and rewards them with the *Shih-shu* and other linears. Taxes and donations are given by this foundation of generosity to such idolatrous, that the expenses of past ages did not give even a hundredth part of the support. In the sacred month of *Shawwal* only domestic expenses, and in other months less than that amount, are distributed among the poor. Several dispensaries have been established in the capital and other cities in which food is served out to the helpless and poor, and in places where there were no dispensaries for the healing of the prevalent, they have been built by the Emperor. All the temples in the empire are repaired at public expense. Lectures, orders to the daily prayers, and readers of the *Shahida*, have been appointed to each of them so that a large sum of money has been and is still laid out in these devout acts. In all the cities and towns of this extensive country pensions and allowances and lands have been given to learned men and professors, and stipends have been fixed for scholars according to their studies and qualifications.

¹ As it is a great sign with the Emperor that all Mohammedans should follow the principles of the religion as expounded by the most competent law officers and the followers of the *Muham* persuasion, and as these principles, in consequence of the different opinions of the *Ahna* and *Shaf* sects which have been delivered without any authority, could not be distinctly and clearly taught, and as there was no book which embraced them all, and as until many books had been collected and a man had obtained sufficient leisure, money and knowledge of theological subjects, he could not satisfy his inquiries on any disputed point, therefore His Majesty, the protector of the faith, decreed that a body of valiantly learned and able men of *Hyderabad* should take up the voluminous and most treacherous works which were collected in the royal library, and having made a digest of them, compose a book which might form a standard mean of the law, and afford to all an easy and available means of obtaining the proper and authoritative interpretation. The chief conductors of this difficult undertaking was the most learned man of the law, *Sheikh Nadim*, and all the members of the society were very handsomely and liberally paid, so that up to the present time a sum of 200,000 *rupes* has been expended in this valuable compilation, which contains more than 100,000 lines. When the work (*Furaidi Ahmadi*) with God's pleasure, is completed, it will be for all the world the standard exposition of the law, and render every one independent of Mohammedan doctors. Another resolution standing that stands is that with a view to afford facility to all the possessors of parchment, *Chahja Ahy* Sah was of the great and the most celebrated *Moslim Ahy Sah*, or

belong, and his several pupils have been ordered to translate the work into Persian . . .

The Emperor is particularly acquainted with the conservatism, traditions and law. He always studies the completion of the great Imam Mohammed Ghazali (may God's mercy be on him?), the extracts from the writings of Sheikh Sharaf Ishtiyaq Mawani (may his tomb be sanctified?), and the topics of Hakeem Sherkas, and other similar books. One of the greatest excellences of the various sciences is that he has learnt the Arabic by heart. Though in his early youth he had commenced to reciting some chapters of that sacred book, yet he learnt the whole by heart after becoming the Khiva. He took great pains and showed much perseverance in acquiring it upon his mind. He writes a very good *Nasta'liq* hand, and has acquired perfection in this art. He has written two copies of the holy book with his own hand, and having finished and adorned them with ornaments and marginal lines, at the expense of 1,000 roubles he sent them to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. He also wrote an excellent *Nasta'liq* and *Shikasta* hand. He is a very elegant writer in prose and has acquired proficiency in versification, but agreeably to the words of God—"Peace dust on inkblots!"—he abstains from practising it. He does not like to hear verses except those which contain a moral. "We praise Almighty God he never turned his eye towards a flatterer, nor gave his ear to a poet."

The Emperor has given a very liberal education to his scholars and noble children, who, by virtue of his attention and care, have reached to the summit of perfection, and made great advances in religious, divinity, and poetry, and in learning the manners and customs of princes and great men. Through his instructions they have learnt the book of God by heart, obtained proficiency in the sciences and polite literature, writing the various hands and in learning the Turkic and the Persian languages.

In like manner, the ladies of the household also, according to his orders, have learnt the fundamental and necessary tenets of religion, and all devote their time to the adoration and worship of the Deity, to reading the sacred Quran, and performing virtuous and pious acts. The easiness of character and the purity of morals of the holy women are beyond all expression. As long as nature maintains the tree of adolescence and keeps the garden of the world fresh, may the plant of the propriety of the preserver of the garden of dignity and honour continue fruitful.¹

The eulogists, however as it may appear, from a strictly Muslim view point, was not altogether uncoloured by *Arsenapsia*. "It is not," as Lane-Poole properly observes, "more adulatory than the eulogy letter to Colbert of the same period . . . There is nothing in the portrait which is inconsistent with the whole tenor of Arsenapsia's career or with the testimony of European eye-witnesses. Engraving

1: S. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 224-22.

rated as it must seem to a western reader, the Indian historian's picture of his reformed Emperor does not present a single touch which cannot be traced in the writings of contemporary French and English travellers, and in the statements of other native chroniclers who were less under the influence of the latter for the portrait. Dr. Caillat draws a precisely similar picture of the Emperor as he was in his old age in 1695.¹

If Aurangzeb had shared the intolerance or liberal outlook of his forefathers, he would have strengthened instead of undermining the foundations of the Empire. He was more Hindu in blood than any of them had been; but his Islamic conscience rebuffed all the traditions created by them in India. "For the first time" in their history the Muslims beheld "a Hindu Muslim as their Emperor—a Muslim as nearly repulsive of himself as of his people around him, a king who was prepared to defy his blood for the sake of the faith."² His youthful enthusiasm when he ascended the throne of Delhi, but a ripe man of forty, deeply experienced in the policies and prejudices of the various sects of his subjects. He must have been fully conscious of the dangerous path he was pursuing, and well aware that to run a-ghat against every Hindu sentiment, to alienate his Persian adherents, the flower of his general staff, by deliberate opposition to their cherished ideas, and to disgust his nobles by suppressing the luxury of a royal court, was to invite revolution. Yet he chose this course, and adhered to this with unflinching resolve through close on fifty years of unchallenged sovereignty. The flame of religious zeal blazed as hotly in his mind when he lay dying among the ruins of his Grand Army of the Deccan, an old man on the verge of ninety, as when, in the same fatal province, but then a youth in the springtime of life, he had thrown off the yoke of viceregal state and adopted the mean garb of a mendicant fakir.³

A sense of failure, defeat, and despair came over Aurangzeb in his closing years. His posthumous letters to his

The Rule of Aurangzeb, cited already, breathe regret and disappointment; there is also in them a note of uncertainty and despondency.

But in his lifetime he had no misgivings as to his goal—he had pursued what he considered to be

¹ *Law-Paids*, pp. vii, pp. 66-69. See "Hindu of Muslim Sovereignty" by Herbert Fremont Sumner, in *J. D. P. A. S.*, XIV, pt. 1, July 1941.

² *Law-Paids*, loc. cit., p. 70.

his God-appointed task, relentlessly and with great zeal. He sought to convert *Shir al-Mash* (land of infidelity) into *Shir-al-Faith* (land of the true faith). It was calamity for this that he defrocked his father, murdered his brothers, killed his son Akbar, massacred the Rajputs, Jits, Sakhs, and Marathas, suppressed the two Sikh kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, looted the Rajas, forbade the writing of court-chronicles, banished music, changed the calendar to the orthodox lunar system (in place of the solar calculations), discontinued the *Nawab* obsequies and anniversary-wranglings of the Emperor against gold, silver, etc. and substituted true Hindul *Muslime* in place of *Hindus*, *Shihs*, and other schisms and heresies in his service whenever he could. Some of his measures were really good, such as the reformation of *Hijab*, prohibition of liquor and gambling, prohibiting of sati, banning of obscenity in the celebration of *Koli* and the compulsion of public women to choose between marriage and exile, etc. But what enraged large masses of his subjects was the wholesale destruction of places of worship, erection of monstrous taxes like the *Jajira* and extra-taxes levied from *Hindus*, and their humiliation, not merely by dismissal from high service, but also by prohibition against riding on good horses, wearing of good dresses, etc. There were not the acts of a righteous ruler or a constructive statesman, but the outbursts of blind fanaticism, unworthy of the great genius that Aurangzeb undoubtedly possessed in all other respects. Nor does any religion demand from its most devoted votaries the savage treatment that Aurangzeb needlessly meted out to his father and brothers. The fact is that, apart from his natural propensity and zeal for religion (Islam?), Aurangzeb—or better *Aurangh*, the "world-grasper," also possessed a certain strong machismedian trait in his character which made him believe:

"How vain is virtue, which directs our ways
Through certain danger to uncertain gains!
Haven, and my own! the better way.
With the lion tamer, the pilot and the man
The world is ready for the bold ungodly man,
My steps at nothing, never all in vain,
Justice to merit does weak aid afford!
She treats her balance, and neglects her sword.
Virtue is vain to take what's not her own.
And while she long consults, the pirate is gone!"¹

1. *Drishya, Aurang-Jaba*.

This is the key to his puzzling character which led his European contemporaries to suspect him a dissembling conservative villain. Bernier, as we have already pointed out, speaks of him as " reserved, *Indole*, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation." He further amplifies, " When at his father's Court, he feigned a devotion which he never felt, and affected contempt for worldly grandeur while clandestinely endeavouring to point the way to future elevation. Even when nominated Viceroy of the Deccan, he craved it to be believed that his feelings would be better gratified if permitted to turn *Jahil*, that is to say, a beggar, a Danish, or one who had renounced the world, than the wish nearest his heart was to pass the rest of his days in prayer or in offices of piety, and that he shrunk from the cares and responsibility of government. Still his life has been one of unending intrigue and contrivance; conducted, however, with such admirable skill, that every person in the Court, excepting only his brother Dara, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character." *Uguzistan*, likewise, wrote, " Aurangzeb especially distinguished and for the *Sufi* sect, of which he is a faithful follower that he surpassed all his predecessors in external observation of the law, which has been the rule by means of which he has operated his usurpation of the Kingdom. . . . To show himself still more zealous for the law he became a *Dervish* or *Faki*, . . . and under this false mantle of piety made his way slowly to the *Empire*."*

At least two of his contemporaries warned Aurangzeb of the consequences of his perfidious policy—their motives we need not discuss here; but, in the nature of things, they could expect no response. His rebellious son Akbar wrote the strongest indictment of Aurangzeb's rule ever pointed by critic:

"Truly, the guide and teacher of this path [of rebellion against a reigning father] is Your Majesty, others are merely following your footsteps. How can the path which Your Majesty himself chose to follow be called 'the path of ill-luck'?"

My father harvested away the garden of Fate
for two grains of wheat
I shall be an unworthy son if I do not till it
for a grain of barley!
Hail, sinner of the world, spiritual and temporal!

* Bernier, *Travels*, p. 36.

† Thurston, *Prinsep*, I, p. 177.

Men were hunting and labour of themselves . . .
 [Then follows a recitation of the Rajputs.]

Former emperors like Akbar had constructed edifices and founded such cities and conquered the realm of Hindustan with their help . . .
 This is the man who, when Your Majesty was ascending the throne at Delhi, and the Rajputs [there] did not consider man more than hundred men, performed heroic deeds, whose narrative is recorded to the age; such honour and valour [were theirs] as the commanders of the age have not lost it. . . .
 Bhivanga or on this race's fidelity to us, who without hesitation is giving up their lives for their masters' sons, have done such deeds of heroism that for three years the Empire of India, its mighty sons, famous soldiers and high generals have been serving in distinction [against them], though this is only the beginning of the realm.

"And why should it not be so, seeing that in Your Majesty's reign the mountains have no peaks, the water runs no trace, the soldiers are wretchedly poor, the writers are without employment, the students are without means and the peasantry are down-trodden?" So, too, the king, due to the Deccan which is a spacious country and a paradise on earth, has become desolate and wasted like a hill or desert, and the city of Bichampur,² as rich as honey as the clove in earth,—has become ruined and plundered, the city of Ahamadnagar, glorified by association with Your Majesty's name, is perished like opium at the shock and injury given by the enemy's swords.

"On the Wode tribe two calamities have descended, (first) the capture of the Rajas in the town and (second) the oppression of the enemy in the country. When such sufferings have come down upon the heads of the people from all sides, why should they not feel to pray for or thank their ruler? Men of high extraction and pure blood belonging to noble families have disappeared and the offices and departments of Your Majesty's government and the functions of Your consulting in the affairs of the State, are in the hands of mechanics, low people and fools, —the weavers, soap-vendors and others. These men, carrying the broad cloak of fraud under their arms, and the sword of fraud and industry, [in all the country] at their hands, roll on their dragon-skins fraudulent and religious meritorious. Your Majesty trusts these confidence-men, impostors and impostors as if they were Gabriel and Michael, and places yourself helplessly under their control. And these men, showing what (as merchants) but selling luxury, by such pretence make great appear at a hill and a hill at great [to you].

In the reign of King Akbar the Holy Wayan,
 Soap-vendors have become Sadr and Qasr.³
 Low people have gained so much power
 That cultured persons have to seek shelter at their doors! . . .
 God protect us from this calamitous age,
 In which the sea looks at the Arab coast!

The supreme catastrophe is [visibly] breaking on the mind.
While justice has become [as usual] the phantom chief!

"The chiefs and officers of State have taken to the practice of trading, and are buying posts with gold and selling them for diamond considerations. Every one who sets out destroys the nation. The day when war will be the policy of the State would be marked."

"When I behold thee to be the state of affairs [in the world] and see no possibility of Your Majesty's character being reformed, deeply agitated urged me to choose the mode of Hindustan of the beamless and weak (i.e., oppressors and lawless men), to promote men of learning and culture, and to destroy the foundations of tyranny and darkness ..."

"Indeed Your Majesty has spent all Your life in the quest of things of this world—which are even more false than dreams, and even less constant than shadows. Now at the proper time for You to lay in provisions for the next life, in order to atone for Your former deeds, look out of greed for this transitory world against Your august father and noble brothers in the days of Your youth."

Oh! thou art past eighty years and art still asleep!
Thou wilt not get more than three few days."

The whole letter sounds ancient and, doubtless, is guilty of exaggeration, but in its main charge quite true and wonderfully prophetic. Similar in import and appeal, but certainly more dignified in its tone and secure in its fervour, is Shrivijaya's letter to Anangapala, addressed to him after the Agra adventure.

"To the Emperor Anangapala—

"This line and constant well-wisher Shrivijaya, after rendering thanks for the grace of God and the favour of the Emperor which are dearer than the Sun, begs to inform Your Majesty that—, . . .

"It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of the war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied your treasury, Your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of plays should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please Your Majesty! That architect of the fabric of empires [Jahangir] Akbar Shahidā, regned with full power for 32 (thirty-two) years. He adopted the universal policy of universal harmony (sarva-samāhāra) in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Shaka's followers, day-worshippers (Nalaka) jainists, materialists (samast), shaktas (Shakta) Brahmins and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to divide and protect all the people. So, he became famous under the title of Jagat-Cara, 'the World's universal Guide.'"

"Now, the Emperor Narasimha Jahangir for 22 years spread his precious shade on the head of the world and its dwellers gave his heart

to his family and his hand to his work, and gained his desire. The Emperor Shah Jahan for 32 years cast his blessed shade on the head of the world and gathered the fruit of eternal life, which is only a mystery for producers and fair fame, as the result of his longer time on earth.

He who lives with a good name gains everlasting wealth,
Because after his death, the reward of his good deeds
Keeps his name alive.

Through the auspicious effect of this religious disposition, wherever he [Akbar] bent the glance of his august wish, Victory and Success attended to welcome him on the way. In his reign many kingdoms and forts were conquered [by him]. The state and power of these Emperors can be easily understood from the fact *though Firdausi has failed and because distracted in his attempt to merely follow their political system*. They, too, had the power of laying the plans, but they did not give place to history in their hearts, as they resembled all men, high and low, created by God to be [strong] examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperaments. Their wisdom and benevolence nature on the page of time as their monument, and so prayer and praise for these [divine] pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind, among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intention. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's creature rejoiced in the credit of praise and victory [under the rule], and their undertakings succeeded.²

"But in Your Majesty's reign, many of the lords and princes have gone out of your possession, and the one will soon die as too, because there will be no successors on my part in bearing and defending them. Your parents are gone-tookies. The path of every village has deserted, in the place of one lakh [of Rupee] only one thousand, in the place of a thousand only ten are collected, and that too with difficulty. When poverty and beggary have made their homes in the palaces of the Emperor and the Princess, the condition of the Grandee and officers can be easily imagined. It is a reign in which the way is a *little*, the merchants weep, the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grieved, most men look blind at night and in the day inhale their own shade by stopping them [in equis]. How can the royal spend permit you to add the hardship of the slave to the previous state of things? The luxury will quickly spread from east to east and become revealed in books of history that the Emperor of Hindustan, creating the beggar's couch, takes rags from Hindustan and Jam mundi, rags, *unwashed, filthy, peepers, cow-dung*, *ruined* *washed*, and the famished-stricken—that he values a shawl by attack on the welfare of beggars that he dashes down to the ground the rope and fustian of the Thierds!"

"May it please Your Majesty! If you believe in the true Divine Book and Word of God (i.e. the Qu'ran), you will find there [that God is styled] *Subhānashah*, the Lord of all men, and not *Subhānawāshah*, the Lord of the Muhammadans only. Truly, Islam and Hinduan

are treated as constant. They are [divine payments] made by the true Diving Painter for bleeding the colours and filling in the outlines [of the pictures of the entire human species]. If it be a mosque, the call to prayer is chanted in remembrance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in praising for Him only. To show ingratitude for any man's effort and persisting in squandering the words of the Holy Book. To show how him as a person is equivalent to facing death with the painter

"In strict justice the judge is not at all levelled. From the political point of view it will be allowable only if a beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one province to another without fear of molestation. [But] in these days even the cities are being plundered, what shall I say of the open country? Apart from its injustice, this imposition of the yoke is an invasion in India and independent

"If you imagine party to content in opposing the people and terrorising the Hindus, you ought first to levy the yoke from Rām Rāj Singh, who is the head of the Hindus. Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me, so I am at your service. But to approach unto and flee is far from displaying valour and spirit. I wonder at the strange fealty of your officers that they neglect to tell you of the true state of things, but never a shining day with store! May the men of your country continue to show above the bottom of greediness!"

Again rather, if Hindu traditions are to be treated, more records had been furnished upon another ruler of Delhi (Muzaffarpur),— viz., *Dilwārdāshah* (*Pillar of State*) strikes with a fatal blindness and at the mercy of his avaricious sons, chief among whom was *Daryādāshah* of evil mind. Shri Krishna 'with sweet and soft persuasion,' addressed him thus:—

"Listen mighty *Dilwārdāshah*, Kuru's great and ancient king,
Sole son and death of enemies, word of peace and love
I bring!

For thy sons in impious anger seek to do their Krumān wrong,
And without the throne and kingdom which by right is theirs
being,

And a danger that smacks like the woman's hateful joy,
Slaughtered Krumān, bleeding nations, even shall lead its head
be!

Break thy hands, O Kuru monarch! prove thy truth and holy
grace,

Man of peace! save the daughter and preserve thy nation
name. . . .

"Thy thy profit, Kuru monarch! that thy fatal feud should cease,
Rivers Daryādāsh, good Yashīdāsh, rule in unbroken peace,

Faith's men are strong in valour, mighty in their armed hand,
India shall not shake the empire when they guard Xara land !
Who shall then contest the power from the sea to farthest east,
Ruler of a world-wide empire, King of kings and nations here ?
Sons and grandsons, friends and kinsmen, will surround thee as
a ring.

And a race of living heroes guard their ancient heron-king,
Dharmadharma's holy white will pervade his boundless wing,
Nations weak his righteous readiness and the large sea will obey
If his counsel be rejected and the best of men prevail.

Soon within these ancient chambers will resound the sound of war !

Feeder of a righteous nation ? Save the people of the land,
On the armed and just nation watch, old men, thy ready hand !

Slaughter not the weak nation, slaughter not thy folk and kin,
Mink not, king thy strong nation with the Hindu state of sin
Let thy arm and Faish's children stand beside the ancient throne,
Glorious power and glorious nation, for thy days are clouded down !"

Along the world power's reply to all the claims of reason and statesmanship was as blind and blunt as that of Dharmadharma's apostrophic tone. He was learned, too, and could quote Sa'di, emphatically exclaiming,—

"Come to be king ! Oh, come to be King !

Or determine that your dominion shall be preserved
only by yourself."

Aurangzeb was thereby saving the dragon's tooth : but he never thought of the future. With Louis XV he only exclaimed : "After me the deluge"—"Ae-ma-ah kamaah kamaah kamaah !"

Mr Pringle Kennedy wisely observes, "What Akbar had gained, what Jahangir and Shah Jahan with all their vice had retained, he (Aurangzeb) lost, viz, the affection of his Hindu subjects. That this can be ascribed for a Mohammedan ruler without doing injustice to his co-religionists has been shown over and over again in Indian History. And no power that has not secured the confidence of the Hindu community can be expected to last in India. Intolerance in Aurangzeb's time meant intolerance in religious matters, but intolerance can, and at the present day often does, extend to matters not religious. Intolerance as opposition a belief that no one can be right save oneself, a feeling of contempt for all that does not tally with one's own ideas, all that are a form of intolerance and one that at times can be seen in the statements of the present

days. But the warning of history stands over there, so that he who runs may read. *The English were foolish by pursuing the methods of Akbar, let them now try it by imitating him.*¹ *Alauddin*

WASTED OPPORTUNITY

It is vain to speculate what might have been if Aurangzeb had not been a fanatical Muslim (as his infidel cousin brother Dara called him), if he had befriended the Rajputs instead of alienating them, if he had not antagonised the Sikhs, Satrials, Jats, and other sections of his non-Muslim subjects, and above all, if he had not roused the Marathas to deadly combat, and had won the sympathy and support of the Sikh Kingdoms of Gekonda and Bijapur, etc. etc. But when we remember Aurangzeb's unquestionable merits, his administrative abilities, his benevolent intentions regarding the welfare of the peasants and Muslim subjects, his tireless energy, and his sense of the responsibilities of a monarch, we cannot help sighing with the repentant Emperor crying from his death-bed: "*I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry. Life is valuable, but gone away for nothing. . . . and of the future there is no hope.*"²

Our regret is redoubled all the more acute when we turn our eyes to the successful administration of parts of his vast dominion, like Bengal under Shajahan Khán and Korkán under Mirán Khán. The latter was a *Mansabdar* *Sardar* of Kalyán, first employed as a *Subahdar* in the Mauk District. He first distinguished himself in 1655, "by his enterprising spirit and fearlessness." He enlisted a strong infantry force of local hillmen to fight the Marathas. After the fall of Sambhár, it was on account of him that all North Korkán from Surat to Bombay passed into Mughal hands. "Most parts of the district had been ravaged by twenty years of Maratha predomiance and frequent warfare. He established Mughal rule over them, restored order, and planted colonies of peasants so as to revive their cultivation and prosperity. . . . The correspondence of Aurangzeb's Court contains many examples of Mirán's vigilance over his charge, his strict maintenance of efficiency in the administration, and his assistance to the *Sikhi* chief of Jaxora in the military operations for upholding the imperial power. Death overtook this able and faithful servant at the end of February 1704."³

¹ Kennedy, *The History of the Great Moghals*, II, pp. 158-59.
² Letter to Aurangzeb, already cited.

³ *Annals of the Mughal Empire*, ed. Kennedy, vol. 303-04.

(Source: *Map of Egypt*)



(Based on *Map of Egypt*)

THE THREE UNDER ARRANGERS

Shayista Khan's administration of Bengal was equally successful and prosperous. His first viceroyalty of Bengal extended over 14 years (1664-77). "During this unusually long period of office as our province, he first secured the safety of the Bengal rivers and seaboard by destroying the pirates' nest at Chaguan, won over the Poragat pirates and settled them near Dacca. His internal administration was equally mild and successful. He immediately stopped the resumption by the State of the old tax-free lands which the local officers had begun during the inter-regnum following Mir Jang's death. Every day he held open Court for administration of justice and relieved wrongs very promptly. Thus he regarded as his most important duty. Shayista Khan restored absolute freedom of buying and selling, and also abolished two illegal exactions of his predecessors, namely, a tax of one-tenth (*ashik*) on the incomes of merchants and travellers, and an excise duty (*jam*) levied every class of articles and tradesmen, the latter tax yielding 25 lakhs of Rupees a year to his own *haji* alone. The long interval of peace won by his arms to Bengal was employed by him in adorning his capital Dacca with many fine buildings and constructing roads all over the country. On the whole, he was a generous administrator of the grand old style". His second term covered the nine years from 1680 to 1689; the most notable event of this period was the war with the E. I. Co., already described. The popular tradition is that, during his governorship, rice sold in Bengal at the unusually cheap rate of eight annas to the Rupee.¹

That the country possessed able rulers even among the enemies of the Mughal Empire is illustrated by the career of Bakht Buland, the rebel chief of Gaudwana. "During Bakht Buland's reign the rich lands of the south of Durgah, between the Wanganga and Kankana rivers, were steadily developed. Hindu and Mahomedan cultivators were encouraged to settle in them on equal terms with Gonds, until this region became most prosperous. Industrious settlers from all quarters were attracted to Gaudwana, many towns and villages were founded and agriculture, manufactures, and even commerce made considerable advances."² But the best illustration of administrative talent outside the Empire is that of Sherin.

"It is commonly believed," writes Prof. S. N. Sen, "that this

1. Ibid., pp. 429-31.
2. Ibid., pp. 429-30.

that empire (whose foundations were laid by Shishu) existed mostly by plunder and robbery. An ancient English writer has described the Maratha people as 'robbers, plunderers and wanderers'. But it is very difficult to understand how an empire could last for over a century and half by robbery and plunder alone unless it had a safer and firmer basis of good government.¹ This is not the place to dispute in detail the splendid government set up by Shishu. We must content ourselves here with reminding the reader of the tribute paid to him by Sir Jadunath Sarkar the historian of Aurangzeb's reign:—"The unparalleled achievement of his life was the welding of scattered Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people... No other Hindu has shown such constructive genius in modern times... He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth."²

Aurangzeb could easily have become an 'Orangzeb' to the Hindus (as indeed his name signified), had he not spent his dynamic energy and genius in channels destructive to both himself and the Empire that was his glorious heritage. Instead he set himself the vain task of becoming a struggle or 'world-grasper' and was content to be *Shah-Par* or 'Iskari adl' to the orthodox Muslim contemporaries. He also set to posterity a perplexing puzzle in the strange compound of his character. "Aurangzeb's life had been a vast failure, indeed," as Late-Poole observes, "but he had failed grandly... His glory is for himself alone... To his great empire his devoted and was an unreliged ruin."³

1. See, *Administrative System of the Marathas* Preface to the 1st ed., p. 8.

2. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

3. Late-Poole, *Aurangzeb*, pp. 304-5. The same writer has also observed, "Aurangzeb has experienced the fate of his great contemporary, Cromwell, whom he resembled in many features of the soul. He has had his London among his Burgundies, and his Easter, with their theories of selfish ambition and virtue violated by success; he has also been drawn off with the conspiracy of Mohammedan Mughlans and Dawlatpurs. These opposite views, however, are less contradictory than might be supposed. They merely represent the difference between Christian bigotry and Muslim lawlessness. They did not understand the nature of the religion which could be honestly professed by such a man as Aurangzeb any more than the converts of the Reformation could discern in the writings outside the sacred Christian that Cromwell truly was.... Like Cromwell, he (Aurangzeb) may not have been a man scrupulous about words, or means, or such things, but he undoubtedly put himself forth for the cause of God, like the great Prophet, a man instrument to do God's people some good and God service."—*Ibid.*, pp. 32-33, 34.

AUTHORITIES*

1. *Primary*.—1. *Muntakhabat Lubab* by Khān Khān already cited, continues the story up to the beginning of the 14th year of Muhammad Shāh's reign. In the opinion of Farrākhi-sayar, the author was made a slave by Nadir-i Mulk, and "writes with interest and favour on all that concerns that chief. For this reason he is sometimes designated *Nadir-i Mulk*." Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 587-591.

2. *Fārikh-i-Sulṭat Khān* by Mir Muḥammadshāh Inṣāf Khān Wāra, whose grandfather and father had held important offices under Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, respectively. Inṣāf Khān was a Jewān under Aurangzeb, and governor of the Deccan under Bahādur Shāh. He died in the reign of Farrākhi-sayar. Derssen observes, "This is a good history of the Mughal Empire from the close of Aurangzeb's reign to the commencement of Farrākhi Sayar's. It has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott. . . . The book is written in a plain, straight-forward style, and it never wanders beyond the sphere of the author's own observation; but it is full of spirit, and has all the vigour and vividness of a personal narrative." "As I was a sharer as well as a spectator of all the dangers and troubles," Inṣāf Khān himself writes, "I have therefore recorded them. My intention, however, not being to compile a history of the kings or a flowery work, but only to relate such events as happened in my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a display of learning in lofty phrases and pompous metaphors, chosen a plain style, such as a friend writing to a friend would use, for the purpose of information. Indeed, if propriety is considered, loftiness of style is unfit for plain truth which, pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation."—E. & D., op. cit., VII, 591-592.

3. *Shah-Nāma* by Muhammad Kāsim, also called *Fārikh-i-Sulṭat-Shāhī*, "is a well written history," commencing with the

* The principal authorities for the remaining chapters, occupying only six last, have all been given here together. The reader will bear in mind, with increasing simplicity, it is impossible to be exhaustive. Other sources may be traced in the works here cited.

death of Acaungmye, and closing with the death of Kothin-i Arshī Sayyid Abū-dūd. Events relating to the great Sayyid of Burmā, whose dependent the author was, are given in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 331-79.

4. *Tārīkh-i Chāghatāi of Muhammad Hādī Khān*—This sometimes called *Tārīkh-i Chāghatāi*, is a general history of the Mughals, closing with the 7th year of Muhammad Shāh, a.d. 1137 (1724 A.D.). The author held important offices under Bahādur Shāh, and "was in a position to know what was going on; and the apparently straight-forward manner in which he has written his history inspires the confidence of the reader." Extract relating to the situation at the death of Bahādur Shāh in E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 18-20.

5. *Tārīkh-i Chāghatāi of Muhammad Shāh Tājran*, not to be confused with the above work of the same name, "is written in an elegant, but somewhat difficult style." It begins with Bahādur and concludes with the withdrawal of Nadir Shāh in 1739. The work closes with the following interesting observation:—

After the departure of Nadir Shāh, a Royal Order was issued to the following effect: "All public officers should occupy themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties, except the historians. These should refrain from recording the events of my reign, for at present the record cannot be a pleasant one. The reign of *Imperial or Supreme Government* have fallen from my hands. I am now the Viceroy of Nadir Shāh." Notwithstanding that the writers and great officers of the Court, leading their calamitous reflections of the Emperor, in many complimentary and flattering speeches recommended him to withdraw this order, His Majesty would not be satisfied. Consequently, being helpless, all the historians obeyed the royal mandate and laid down their pens." Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

6. *Tārīkh-i Afshār-i Bāstam*—This was composed in the year 1134, a.H. (1721 A.D.). It closes with the 24th year of Muhammad Shāh's reign. "It may be considered altogether a useful compilation," writes Dawson, "as it is not copied verbatim from known authors and in the latter part of it the author writes of many matters which came under his own observation or those of his friends." His object in composing the work is stated by the author to have been a desire to record to writing a brief account of just kings, and how they controlled oppression and tyranny, in the hope that,

while it might prove a lesson to the west, it would not lead to drive the attention of intelligent readers to the transiency of all earthly pleasures, and the short duration of human life, and so induce them to withdraw their affections from this world. Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 42-49.

7. *Jawāb-i-Sawāb* of Muḥammad Muḥsin Shāh, a work for a description of the anarchy of the times, though "it is written in a very ambitious extravagant style with a great tendency to exaggeration." Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 13-5.

8. *Fathaw* of Aḥmad Rāy Makhḍūm is invaluable for its account of Nādir Shāh's invasion. "The author was an eye-witness of much that passed during Nādir Shāh's stay in India, and suffered from his ravages." Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 74-86.

9. *Tārīkh-i Aḥmad Shāh*, anonymous, "terminates abruptly about six months before the deposition of Aḥmad in 1748 A.D." Gives a good account of the anarchy of the time. Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 104-23.

10. *Bayān-i Waḥ* of Khwāja 'Abd-al-Karīm Shāh, "contains a very full account of the proceedings of Nādir Shāh in India, and of the reigns of Muḥammad Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh." Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 126-55.

11. *Tārīkh-i Alamgīr-Shāh*, anonymous, "begins with the accession of the Emperor, and terminates at his death, recounting all the events of the reign very fully, and in plain language." Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 140-43.

12. *Tārīkh-i Maḥmūd-i Farīd* of Muḥammad Jāfir Shāh is the account of an eye-witness of the battle of Panipat and the events leading thereto. The author states that "during the prime of his" and "for the space of five-and-twenty years, he was constantly with Aḥmad Salīm Aḥlī, more commonly styled Dardā, and having accompanied him several times to Hindustan became well acquainted with the whole series of royal marches from the city of Kōndahar to the metropolis of Shīr-Jahānshāh. At the battle which was fought at Panipat with Wāḥidā Rāy and his deputy Shāh, the author was himself present on the field, and witnessed the circumstances with his own eyes. Other particulars too, he learnt from persons of credit and dignity, and having written them down without any alteration, designated the work by the title of *Maḥmūd-i Farīd*, or *Victorious Marches*." Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 145-57.

13. *Furkhatun Maktub* of Muhammad Aslam was completed in the year 1166 A.H. (1750 A.D.). "This History is somewhat un-English in style, but of no value for its contents." It deals with the Darshan movement and of Alauddin II and Shihab Adin II. Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 154-73.

14. *Siyar-i Mubtathirah* ("Review of Modern Times") or *Siyar-i Akramiyyah* ("Mansions of the Modern") of Ghulam Husain Khān is a general history of India from 1700 to 1795 A.D. "It contains the reigns of the last seven Emperors of Hindustan, an account of the progress of the English in Bengal up to 1757, A.D., and a critical examination of their government and policy in Bengal. The author treats important subjects with a freedom and spirit, and with a force, clearness and simplicity of style very unusual in an Asiatic writer, and which justly entitles him to pre-eminence among Muhammadan historians" (Dewson). The edition in this book are from Col. Briggs' (Punjab office, Alahabad, 1904) translation, entitled *Siyar-ul-Mubtathirah*.

15. *Hisht-Misra* of Fakir Khans-i dar Muhammad (Alahabad) It is mainly the history of the reigns of Alauddin II and Shihab Adin II. "The history is well written, in simple colloquial language, and deserves more notice than the laconic of this work will allow." Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 250-64.

16. *Fakhri-i Mubtathir Khān* of Ali Ibrahim Khān was completed at Benares in 1200 A.H. (1785 A.D.). "This work is very valuable for the clear and accurate account it gives of the Marathas." Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 257-64.

17. *Tārikh-i Muzaffari* of Muhammad Ali Khān is, according to Dewson, "the most accurate of General Histories of India." The work was composed about 1600 A.D. This is the principal authority on which is based Koenig's *Fall of the Moghul Empire*. Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 257-64.

18. *Aligh-Misra-i Hind* of Sayyid Ghulam Ali covers the ground traversed by *Tārikh-i Mubtathir Khān* but in much greater detail. For the battle of Pānajat "the author informs us that his authority was a brother-in-law of the Durrān, named Riza Khān Razi, who was in the service of Nawab Shams-i daula of Oudh, and was present at the interview which the Marathas carried through Shams-i daula had with him" (Dewson). Extracts, *ibid.*, pp. 260-61.

19. *Khāsh-i Kāp Peshwa's* account of the Pānajat events, as found in Col. James Browne's translation has been edited, with valuable

notes and appendices, by Principal H. G. Fowler (O. U. P., 1925). "The literature of this campaign is immense" writes Ramkrishna, "and a study of it, even from Marathi documents, would alone occupy a large volume. The Persian sources have yet to be adequately catalogued and examined." In their absence Khidr Bihārī "is the most detailed account we possess of the battle, and is the work of an eye-witness who evidently desired to give an impartial narrative of what he saw and heard. He had many friends in both armies and he was equally impressed by the gallantry of the Mughals and by the masterly strategy of their opponent, the Akbari general." (Introduction).

20. An equally valuable contemporary account in Persian has been recently translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the pages of the *Islamic Culture* (Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 481-86, July 1932, Hyderabad Deccan). It is entitled, "An Original Account of Ahmad Shah Durrani's Campaign in India and the Battle of Panipat"—from the *Persian Life of Nadir-shah-Afshar*, (Sir Museum Papers Nos. 24, 400).

21. James Frower's *History of Malabar*, published in 1742 (Rajkot, Printed Office, Alibabad).

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2. *The Peshwa in India (1680-1761)* by the same writer, London, 1929 (Allen).

3. *The Fall of the Mogal Empire* by Sidney J. Owen, London, 1932 (Murray).

4. *History of India* by Ephraïm, Bk. XII, pp. 415-583.

5. *Later Moghals* by William Irvine, edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar—Vol. I, 1733-1753; Vol. II, 1753-1759 (Calcutta, Sarkar & Sons).

6. *Fall of the Moghal Empire* by Sir J. N. Sarkar, Vol. I, 1753-1764 (Calcutta 1932 Sarkar & Sons); Vol. II, 1764.

7. *The Jesuits and the Great Mogal* by Sir Edward Madigan, Ch. VII, pp. 124-43, Ch. XII, pp. 181-87.

8. "Some Jesuitas Dão De Castro—His Influence in Later Moghal History" by Rev. Harris, S. J., Reader, 1929.

9. *End of the Peshwas* by H. M. Sarkar. Alibabad, 1931 (The Indian Pioneer).

10. *Life and Times of Shivaji* by M. W. and B. G. Sarayap. Bombay 1932.

11. *A History of the Marathi People* by Kinsard and Porania, Vol. II, O. U. P. 1933.
12. *The Main Currents of Marathi History* by G. S. Sardesai, (Calcutta, 1926, Sarkar & Sons).
13. *The Battle of Pilsnet—its Causes and Consequences*, by the same writer,—*The Modern Review* for Sept. 1953, pp. 269-74.
14. *The History of the Great Moghals* by Fergie Kennedy Vol. II, Calcutta 1911 (Thacker Spink & Co.).
15. *A History of the Mogul Rule in India*, (1526-1761) by K. H. Kinsard and K. M. Shah, Baroda 1938. (pp. 183-206)
16. *A History of the Shikhs* by J. D. Cunningham, Calcutta, 1841. (pp. 66-137).
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CHAPTER X

SUNSET OF THE EMPIRE

"For generosity, unselfishness, boundless good nature, extenuation of faults, and suppression of offences, very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahadur Shah in the histories of past times, and especially in the case of India. But though he had no vice in his character, such complacency and such negligence were exhibited in the protection of the State and in the government and management of the country, that every sensible people found the close of his reign as the words, *Shah-i-be-Khshai*. *Musleh-i-King*" *Kutub-i-Nadiri*

The afternoon blaze of Aurangzeb's power had melted into a softer glow in the declining years of the aged Emperor. The tedious war in the Deccan had "exhausted his armies and destroyed his prestige, and no sooner was the dominating mind stifled in death than all the forces that he had sternly controlled, all the warring elements that struggled for emancipation from the grinding yoke, broke out in irrepressible tumult. Even before the end of his reign Hindustan was in confusion, and the signs of coming dissolution had appeared. As some imperial corpse, preserved for ages in its dried richness, crowded and armed and still anæsthetic, yet left into dust at the mere breath of heaven, so fell the empire of the Moghul when the great mine that guarded it was so mine. It was as though some splendid palace, raised with infinite skill with all the richest stores and precious metals of the earth, had attained its perfect beauty only to collapse in undistinguishable ruin when the shadowy roots of the copper topped the foundations." So writes Lane-Poole. He further adds, "Even had Aurangzeb left a remnant of his own mental and moral stature, it may be doubted whether the process of disintegration could have been stayed. The disease was too far advanced for even the heroic surgery."¹

Things were not so hopeless at least during the five years of Bahadur Shah's rule (1707-1712). We might agree with Keene who states, "As there was a period of consolidation between the first adventure (of Dilavar) and the mature glory (of Shah Jahan), so there was a period of weakness and a lapse between the glory and

¹ *Mughal India*, pp. 293-294.

the fact. — Naturally, the steps from one period to another were not sharply defined to the bystanders, and even now, on looking back upon them, one observes gradations like those by which one colour passes into the next upon a rainbow. The reign of Aurangzeb might appear to have been a time of recovery if it had not been a time of falling; and the symptoms of his death that have been preserved do not show any feelings of despondency as to the future of his empire in the mind of the dying despot. Nor was the character or the position of his successor by any means such as to give rise to any immediate alarm among those well-wishers of the State who survived their sovereign. The Emperor still gave audience, and refrained grievances, seated on the peacock throne, and the rulers of all provinces of the peninsula were still either his vassals or his officials.¹

"But" as the same writer well observes, "the air was full of change."² It would not, therefore, be improper to call this reign the sunset of the Empire: the sun of Imperial glory was still to sink before the horizon; if the rays of its power were not piercing and sharp as in the days of Aurangzeb, they had a peculiar charm of their own. Though the advent of passing grandeur was short like a real sunset, few that stayed in watching light thought of the darkness that was to follow.

"The new emperor, in spite of his advancing years," says Keene, "displayed a vigour and energy which caused his court to rival the memory of Shahjahan's."³ In the words of Bradst Kōhin:

"There received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal to, if not above, their merits; so that the public hope, the confidence and great opinion of Aurangzeb, which before absorbed in the branches of his successor. His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shah Jahan. Seventeen Princes, his sons, grandsons and nephews, not generally seated by throne. — Behind the royal Princes, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Alexander All Sultan of Bijapur, and Kirti Sultan, King of Golkonda and a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of amir to those thousand such as was allowed to be on the platform between the silver umbrellas.

On the left and other intervals, His Majesty, with his own hands, put the bowl and perfume to all in his presence, according to their rank. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours were truly royal. — In the early part of the evening he had generally an assembly of the religious

1 Keene, *The Turks in India*, pp. 170-71.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, 178.

or learned man. He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all his teachers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account some apostolic devotion accorded him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, though most every of his superior abilities. I heard much of his talents, and increased the prejudice of his vain critics, for it was as clear as the sun how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points." The writer concludes, "But how can I enumerate all his perfections. It would fill volumes to write but a small part, therefore I will desist."

Ted, the historian of Hindostan, is equally respectful, saying that the Emperor Bahádur Sháh had many qualities that entitled him to the Rajah. He was also of opinion that "had he immediately succeeded the benighted Sháhsháh, the House of Tamerik, in all human probability, would have been still endangered at Delhi." The legacy of Aurangzeb spared the opportunities of the Emperor, who like Sháh Jahan was "almost a pure Hindu." Kenna adds, "Had Aurangzeb succeeded Akbar he would have done less mischief; had Bahádur Sháh succeeded Sháhsháh he would have perpepetrated the catastrophe. As things happened (however) the capital was all the one was as fatal as the levy of the other, and the qualities of each combined in unhappily co-operation, his two compounds whose chemical union makes a deadly poison."

We might divide the present chapter under the following heads:—I. Personal History of Bahádur Sháh; II. Relations with the Rajahs; III. Relations with the Marathas; IV. Relations with the Sikhs; and V. Conclusion.

1. PERSONAL HISTORY

Muhammad Musawwar, the second son of Aurangzeb, was styled Sháh

Alauddin in his father's lifetime. He was born at *Jamshajpur* on 30th Rajab 1683 a.h. (14th Oct. 1685).

His mother was Maráthi Bih, daughter of Nizám Raja of Bijapur in Kadkanat. His eldest brother, by the same mother, Prince Muhammad Salim, having died (14th Dec. 1693) at the age of thirty-nine, Prince Muhammad (Sháh Alau) was designated his successor. For twelve years from 1693 a.h. Sháh Alau was *Sahibdar* of the Deccan. About the end of 1677 he was sent to Káshghar, against his rebellious brother Akbar (the son of Aurangzeb) by his principal wife Salim Bano Begum, born at Aurangabad—(17th Sept. 1627). In 1693-4 he led his Káshghar expedition, with Goláhdar *maliks*, and was there directed against the Rajahs

1. *Travels of Asaf Khán*, II. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 351-52.

2. Kenna, op. cit., pp. 238-9 and 187.

and then Calcutta. On 4th March 1857 he was arrested with all his family for suspected conspiracy with Akbar Hussain, ruler of Calcutta, and kept in close confinement for seven years. He was released on 25th May 1864 and sent as Governor to Ahmedabad. Thence he was transferred to Kaira which he reached on 4th June 1865. "For eight years the hot season was spent in Kaira and the cold weather at Jalandhar or Peshawar or in marches through the country." He got the news of Aurangzeb's death, at his camp at Jalandhar, on 22d March 1867, only 20 days after the event.¹

They followed the same for the throne; M. Azam, the third son of Aurangzeb (by Dilras Banu, daughter

War of Succession—1707
of Shah Nawaz Khan Bahadur—born 9th July 1655) and Shah Alam being nearly equidistant

from Agra. The former was at Ahmednagar (350 miles from Agra), and the latter at Jalandhar (125 miles from Agra).² The contest is well depicted in the pages of contemporary chroniclers. According to Khair Khan, who was then *janabdar* of the market of Thanesar and Khudon: "On the 10th Jai Alfi (14th March 1707) Azam Shah, having ascended the throne, made his accession public in the Dekhan by open attack in the name of Azam Shah (the title he assumed was *Abul-Aziz Qasr ad-Din, Muhammad Azam Shah*,

1. "An instance of the speed with which intelligence could be carried the distance from Ahmednagar to Jalandhar being about 1,400 miles, and the average distance travelled by the messengers being that 70 miles a day"—*Dring, The Later Mughals*, I, p. 28.

2. Aurangzeb, on his death-bed, had bequeathed the impending struggle and laid it down to fight (i) 125 by his first son and lieutenant, already cited, maintaining a definite division of the Empire between the three surviving sons; and (2) by trying to keep his three sons at a safe distance, each from himself and from one another, at the time of his death. Moreover the eldest was to govern Kaira. The other son, Khan Baksh, and Azam, both being near him, he had ordered to go to Nagpur and Malwa respectively, with secret and specific instructions as to the time and route to be followed by each. The *Siyar-ul-Mulk* thus observes:

"The object of such precise instructions was to place the young (Khan Baksh) out of the power of his elder brother M. Azam. Seven days after having taken this precaution, he ordered his second son to proceed to his government of Malwa four hours after sunrise, with injunction to make short stages of about 5 kos daily, and to halt two days at each stage so as to march only every third day. In giving such orders, the emperor told him that it was in his power to prevent the disorders that might happen in that country on account of a vacancy of the throne, and moreover that he might be at hand to avail himself of his father's corpse, and take possession of his inheritance. But the emperor's real object was to keep an outlying prince at a distance from him at that time, and to prevent his availing himself of his father's death to levy his army and compel him, as the great king of Damascus had compelled his own father (Shahkhan)—*Siyar-ul-Mulk*, pp. 22 (Urdu).

Gider.) Having gratified the old nobles of the State with robes and jewels, augmentations of mansab and promises he set off, about the middle of Zil-hijja, to encounter Shih Abim accompanied by *Jamshid-i-Mulk Amin-i-din* surnamed *Amir Khan* (his son) *Zai Nijar Khan Bahadur Nasir-jang* and [many other Persian nobles.] He reached to *Khajata-kumil* (Aurangabad),... and thence arrived at Burhampur. After learning that place, he was abandoned by *Muhammad Amir Khan*, and *Chin Kafil Khan* (leader of the Tufail party), who had received the title of *Khan-i-dauran*. They were offended by the treatment they received from *Amir Shih*, and went off to Aurangabad, where they took possession of several districts.¹ *Amir* had also ordered his son *Sultan Shih*, from *Ahmednagar* to join him. The latter on hearing of the death of his grandfather is reported to have exclaimed: "You know full well that the realm of Hindustan will now fall into anarchy. People do not know the value of the Emperor. I only hope that Heaven will direct matters as I wish, and that the Empire will be given to my father."

In the meanwhile, "On the 15th Zil-hijja the news of Aurangzeb's death reached Pothwar, and the Prince (*Shih Abim*) immediately prepared to set out. Next day a letter came from *Murad Khan*, offering congratulations upon the Prince's accession to royalty (proclaimed), and urging him to come quickly. Orders were given for the march, and next day the Prince started, making no delay, accompanied by his nobles, except *Fathullah Khan*, a man of great bravery lately appointed to Kabul, who declined to accompany him. Orders were given that *Jam-shid Khan*, who was only second in courage to *Fathullah Khan*, should go with 5,000 or 6,000 horse to the neighbourhood of *Agra* to join Prince *Amir-i-din* (*Shih Abim's* son, who had come from *Bihar* to support his father). Orders also were sent calling Prince *Muz-i-din* from *Turtha*, and *Amir-i-din* from *Multan*, where he was acting as the deputy of his father. Other persons adherents were also sent for.

"*Shih Abim* proceeded by regular marches to *Lahore*. *Muz-i-din Khan* came forth to meet him, paid his homage offered 40 *lacs*

1. The coin struck by him bore the inscription—

Shah-i-muhammad al-din bi-shah al-daulat + jah.

Fathullah-i-dauran Amir Khan.

¹ Coin was struck in the name with fortune and dignity by the Emperor at the *Khajiana*, *Amir Shih*.—*Erskin*, op. cit., p. 12.

[1] 3. *E. & B.*, op. cit., VII, p. 101.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 101-60.

of reports, and presented the soldiers, artillery and equipments that he had based himself in collecting directly he had heard of the death of Aungmye.¹

Shih Alun appeared here again. At the end of Makarran, 1129 (April, 1797)² the Prince escaped at Lahore. There he remained over the new moon of Sefar, and gave orders for the cooking of mutton³ and reading the *Alshah* in his name. The nobles in his

1. Both Khali Khan and Ishtar Khan speak highly of Miran Khan's loyalty and ability. The late Emperor, says the former, had appointed Miran Khan, a very able man of business, to the management of Kabul. He had shown great devotion and fidelity to Nafiz Alun, so that the Prince placed in his hands the management of his affairs in the province of Lahore, and had recommended him for the death of the pretender to the Emperor, who appointed him to that office. When Miran Khan received intelligence of the confirmed illness of the Emperor, in his faithful-ness to Shih Alun, he hastened forward in making preparations in the capital, being between Lahore and Peshawar, finding means of transport, collecting mules and bullocks, and procuring things necessary for carrying on a campaign, so as to be ready at the time of hostilities, pp. 261, 62. Ishtar Khan, likewise, speaks of Miran's "great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution and unswerving of integrity of mind . . . when he heard of Aungmye's illness, in order to prevent plans in favour of Azim Shah, he drafted a report that Shih Alun would not consent for support, but seek protection from his brother by flight to Persia. This report appears to have been suggested to him by Shih Alun himself." In this manner, Shih Alun is alleged to have told him, "We conceived a great design, by favouring which I have proved it abroad and taken pains to make it believed. First, because my father, as a man suspicious of disaffection, kept me close prison in close confinement; and should he ever have think that I cherished the smallest sentiment, he would immediately strive to asphyxiate me then. Secondly my brother and I, Azim Shah, who is my beloved enemy and valiant even to the point of madness, would never all his force against me. From this report my father is satisfied my brother failed into self-suspicion; but by the Almighty God who gave me life (laying his hand on the Koran), and on his holy book I swear, though my own hand should give me, I will never Azim Shah do things capable otherwise to me by. This secret, which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be assured that no instance of your conduct may betray it!" When the news of Aungmye's death reached Miran Khan at Lahore he wrote immediately by express to Shih Alun, informing him in detail with the utmost expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or interruption, and he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Lahore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers so that on a day's delay was occasioned in crossing to the Prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery with tall cast-iron guns. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced flags were to have been sent. . . . Ibid. pp. 247-48.

2. Irvine gives the date as 1st Sefar (2nd May, 1797). Irvine, op. cit., p. 22.

3. Descriptions were given that the new sugar should be dissolved with a mallet in water, and here were accordingly copied of that which, but as in the payment of tribute, and in connection of commercial transactions, it was received as only the old rate, the new law was discontinued. K. & Co., op. cit., VII, p. 238.

minors presented their offerings and paid their homage . . .

"On Shih Alam arriving at Delhi, — the commandant sent the keys of the fortress with his offering, and many others made their allegiance. At the beginning of Rabi-ul awwal (8th May, 1702) he left for Agra, and reached the environs of that city about the middle of the month (12th June, 1702), where he was met by his son M. Asim, and by M. Karim, the son of Prince Asim. Shih Khán gave up the keys of the fortress, with treasure, for which he received great favour and rewards.¹

¹ According to one account there were nine *havelis* of *rupees*, in *rupees* and *satrups*, besides treasure of gold and silver, which was what was left remaining of the 24 *havelis* of *rupees* assigned by Shih Jahan after whom had been extended by Aurangzeb during his reign principally to his wars in the Deccan. According to another account, including the presentation money, which consisted of *satrups* and *rupees* of 200 to 300 *talas* might especially valued for presents,² and the *satrups* of 12 *satrups* and 12 *satrups* of the reign of Akbar, the whole amounted to 12 *havelis*. An order was given for immediately bringing out 4 *havelis* of *rupees*. These last were to be given to each of the royal Princes, altogether 8 *havelis*: 2 *havelis* to Khán Dardá and his son, one *haveli* to the Sultán of Bada, one *haveli* to Agha Khán and his Mughals. In the same way the officers in his retinue, and the old servants, soldiers, and others, received gratification (addition of pay and *satrups*). Altogether two *havelis* were distributed.

² Asim Shih (by this time dead) passed the Northwards, and arrived at Gwalior. Shih Alam . . . wrote him a letter of supplication, rehearsing the particulars of the will written by their father with his own hand respecting the division of the kingdom, and said, "Of all the six *satrups* of the Deccan, I will surrender to you four *satrups*, as well as the *satrups* of Ahmedabad, and besides these I will present you with one or two other *satrups*, but I do not wish that the blood of Musalmans should be shed. You might therefore to be content with the will of your father, except what is offered, and endeavour to prevent strife." It is also said that he sent a message to the following effect: "If you will not desist from unjustly making a greater demand, and will not abide by the will of our father but desire that the sword should be drawn, and that the mother

1. At first Shih Khán who was the commandant of the fort of Agra had refused to surrender his charge, pleading that although the fort and the treasure belonged to both the sons to the crown he would surrender them to whichever arrived first. But, see also *System of Mus. Hist.* p. 2. (Bibliog.).

2. See Thomas, *Chronicle of the Peabody Regt.*, p. 422.

should be submitted to the subterfuge of courage and valour, what is the necessity that we should doom a multitude to the edge of the sword in our quarrel? It is better that you and I should strike our individual lives and contend with each other on the field of combat". . . . When this letter and message of the elder brother reached the younger, the latter said, "I suppose the stupid fellow has never read the lines of Su'ei, which say that "Two kings cannot be contained in one country, though ten devils can sleep under one blanket"."

'Empire having been decreed to Shih Aham,' writes Imdad Khat, 'from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of Anan Shah, that he was convinced by his brother, though supported by the myriads of Tur and Saffian, dared not meet him in the field. Hence those who brought intelligence of his approach he would slay as fools and cowards, so that no one dared to speak the truth, or was formerly the case with the Emperor Hsienyue during the rebellion of the Afghan Sher Shah. Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence; so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival."

'The spies of Shih Aham Bahadur Shah,' writes Khali Khat, 'brought intelligence that the advanced guard of Anan Shah had marched with the intention of taking possession of the desert Quam-

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 126-27. A slightly different version is given by Imdad Khat:—"At length Shih Aham, having received intelligence, was by a subterfuge deceived the following message to Anan Shah:—"By the decree of destiny we interpret from our ancestors an extensive empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and glorious not to draw the sword against each other, but content to shed blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the empire between us. Though I am the elder son, I will leave the empire to your hands!" Anan Shah, vengeance and haughty, replied that he would never let brother on the narrow of the field, and upon this the messenger departed."—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 242.

How could two parents be kept in one mother?

At length Khamsa Bahadur came sometimes.

At length Khamsa to his service as an officer.

'My duty is from this to the end of the Empire, yours from the end of the Empire.'—See Imdad, op. cit., p. 22.

2. Daryodshan's reply to the Akshobhanta:—

"I say my message to my Khamsa, for Daryodshan's words are plain."

Portion of the Kura subject sons of Parda seek in vain.

They, our village, send our hand, help us righteous path in heaven.

For that needle's point can cross that not with time to give?"

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 242-23.

2. See June, 1768.—Imdad, op. cit., p. 22.

bel, which is eighteen lie from Agra. So he gave directions that Khilassan Khán, Zai-shihun Khán the commander of the artillery, with an advance guard, should go and take possession of the passage, and not allow the enemy to cross. It was now reported to be Azam Sháh's intention to cross the river at Fousar-gah and leaving Agra on his rear, to turn and give battle. Orders were then given for moving Sháh Azam's tents to Jais Samat. Azam Sháh also prepared for battle, without heeding the valiant pleas of his brother or setting any plan of action, went boldly forward like a fierce lion dashed upon a flock of sheep . . .

"On the 18th Kalat-i masud, 1159 A.H. (18th June 1757 A.D.) the two armies joined battle at Jais (Jaisat) seven or eight lie from Agra. . . . Matters now looked ill in every way for Azam Sháh. . . and a great number on the side of Azam Sháh were slain. Zai Shihun Khán received a slight wound upon the lip. When he saw that the day was lost, that many of his valiant companions on arms were slain, and that Azam Sháh's order was proved to hard that there was no hope of deliverance, he turned to the Prince and said, "Your ancestors have killed and captured the same kind of enemies and have been deprived of their affairs, but they did not refuse to do what the necessities of the case required. The best course for you now is to leave the field of battle, and to remove to a distance, where fortune may perhaps meet you, and you may retrieve your success." Azam Sháh flew into a rage, and said, "Go with your bravery, and save your life wherever you can. it is impossible for me to leave the field. for Prince there is truly the shame of a throne or a liar (laiki yá fakhr)." Zai Shihun Khán, accompanied by Hamid-ud-din Khán, then went off to Gwalior. The Elated Prince now found himself left with only two or three hundred bowmen among thousands of his enemies, and amid a rain of arrows and balls. In this extremity he exclaimed, "It is not Sháh Azam who fights against me; God has abandoned me, and fortune has turned against me!"

From this we might hurry on to the close of the battle as described by Isadat Khán who was present on the scene :-

"We (Zai Shihun Khán) light determined the rest of our army. The principal followers and personal attendants of Azam Sháh now dismounted, and laying their spears on the ground, sat down to await the charge of the enemy, and all their lives in defence of their patron

Brave Akhalik and his brother, Hazem Ali Khán, of the illustrious house of Shukh, were celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed most gallant actions, of doubtful reputation in their own, they renounced these objections, and prepared to engage on foot. The battle now raged hand to hand with knives, and there was great slaughter on both sides. Hazem Ali Khán received several wounds and fell long faint with the loss of blood. — At last a musket-ball and several arrows struck the Prince Dostar Khán, and he sank down dead in the elephant.

Azam Shah, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust whisked towards him from the army of Sháh Alam. From this spot issued with a shout toward the Prince Anwar-ol Sháh, Muzum-din Jahangír Sháh, and Isfahán Sháh. Azam Sháh soon received a mortal wound from a musket-ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The Prince Walajah (Azam's second son) also sank down in the sleep of death. I (Franklin) now made my escape to Agra, not choosing to go to the enemy's camp, where I had many friends who would have given me protection.

Fortuné-ali Khán, who commanded the onset of Sháh Alam's advanced batta, when attacked in the morning by our troops, . . . cutting off the head of the corpse (of Azam Sháh) . . . hastened to the camp of Sháh Alam. With swelling hopes of great reward, he laid his prize at the Prince's feet, for the commander Sháh Alam, among the head of his slaughtered brother in such degree cited tokens of affection, and gave Razam-ali Khán nothing but reproaches. He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbade the words of victory to be spoken. Master Khán took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate Princes, and treated the ladies of their harem with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder. . . . Without doubt Sháh Shah's courage, and his commandment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister."

Next day Sháh Alam went to visit Khán-Abdullah (Masum Khán), and raised him to highest rank, with the title of Khán-Abdullah Rokhsar Zahir Jang and Fátá-ushsháh (favourite friend). He presented him with a deer of rupees in cash and goods, a larger bounty

Gifts and
Offer:

1. But, no. 564-57, 568. "It may be fairly said, as respecting the part of our story," observes Brown, "that Azam Sháh brought to his own defeat by his obstinate and opposing resistance. Having failed to reach Agra in time to observe that city before his own, his chance of success was reduced accordingly. He had little or no money in cash, and even at least with the large treasure frozen open to Jahangír Sháh, he had lost much of his resources before him in the Delhi, and his army was largely composed of troops and scattered troops; while many of his chief men such as Zafar Khán and Khán Jai Singh, Kachhwaia seem to have been only half-hearted in their support of his cause." — *Review*, pp. 65, pp. 56-5.

Qasr had ever been bestowed on any individual since the rise of the House of Timur. His annual was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse, five thousand being *de-astakh* and *ak-astakh*. He also received two *Asars* of *diwan* as *malik*, and he was conferred in the office of *nasir*.¹ Of the ten *Asars* of reports which he officed as *peishah*, one was accepted. . . . Each of the four royal Princes had his *mansab* increased to 30,000 and 25,000 horse. . . . A gracious female, surnaming *Amir-i umm* *Asad Khān*, *Zad* *Shir Khān*, *Hamid* *d* *Shir*, who had engaged to Gashan before the battle, was sent, procuring them safety and favour and asking them to bring with them the bodies of the late Prince with their establishments. *Amir-i umm* accompanied the release of *Nasir-i Khudra Zahir* *Shir* *Nasir* (sister of *Asam Shāh*), who was clothed in mourning garments. When they arrived, the Begum did not go through the form of offering congratulations, in consequence of her being in mourning, and this vexed the King. But he treated her with great kindness and indulgence, doubled her annual allowance, and gave her the title of *Peishah Begum*. All the other ladies of *Asam Shāh* were treated with great sympathy and liberality, and were ordered to accompany *Peishah Begum* to the capital.

To *Asad Khān* was given the title *Musaw-wil* *Malik Asaf-i diwan*. He was also made *Peishah malik*, as the office was called in former reigns, and the appointment and removal of *umms* and other officials used to be in this grandee's hands. He was also presented with four *malikans*, five horses with accoutrements, etc., etc., and was allowed the privilege of having his *darwa* *harem* in the royal *pramari*. . . . *Zad* *Shir Khān*'s *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse. He received the title of *Samsam-i diwan Amir-i Bahadur Nasir-i Jeng*, and was reinstated in his office of *Malik-i diwan*. . . . In short, all the adherents, great and small, of the King and Prince, received *Asars* of reports in *diwan*, four-fold and six-fold augmentation of their *mansabs*, and presents of jewels and deposits.

¹ Although the office of *umms* had been given to *Khān-i Khān* (*Masim Khān*), it was deemed expedient, in order to honour *Asad*

1. 'Some eastern writers have observed that the *Amir-i umm* had been the slave-breed and trusted adviser of *Asam Shāh*; but the *Shahanshah* asserted that if his own men had been in the *Dehli*, the *Amir-i umm* of the *pramari* would have expelled them to save their *malik*.' —*Ibid.* p. 488.

Khalī Asadī) seems and Zai-Ezz-Khalī, to declare Asadī Khalī to the position of *emir*. To outward appearance he was raised to this dignity, but whatever any ostensible business of importance were, Khalī-khanes did not communicate it to Asadī-d *darbar*. . . .

With the exception that the seal of Asadī-d *darbar* was placed upon revenue and civil decrees and awards, he had no part in the administration of government. . . . Khalī-khanes discharged his duties as such with vigour, integrity and superfluity and he exerted himself so eagerly in the performance of his work, that when he took his rest, he appeared often to see that no petitions or letters of the day before remained unattended. One of the most acceptable and beneficial of the measures of Khalī-khanes was the relief he afforded in that oppressive grievance, the feed of the cattle of the *memalikdars*.¹

Orders were given that in the stamping of papers and awards no word should be used, but that the name, as inscription. "Shah Alam Bahadur Shah" and the name of

(want) day should be expressed in prose. It was also ordered that in the *khutbas*, the name "Shah Alam" should be substituted by the title "Salutd". It appears from history that from the rise of the House of Timur-shah, even from the foundation of the Ghori dynasty—no one of the monarchs had ever used the title of Salutd in the *khutbas*, or in his pedigrees, with the exception of Khair Khalī.²

Prince Khair Bahadur, the youngest and favourite son of Asangpurah (by Dilras Banu Begam)—born at Delhi, 24th February 1687

1. "On the day that Asadī-d *darbar* tried to declare a *barat* (marriage) upon Khalī-khanes to wait upon him as other nobles did, and to obtain his signature to documents, but this was disapproved to him."*Ibid.*

2. "To explain this matter briefly, it may be said that in the late reign the *emirs* (high and other nobles) already had so confirmed that the responsibility of providing food for the cattle had been fixed on the *memalikdars*. . . . Although a *darbar* might be long, and its total expense would not suffice for a half or a third of the expense of the *emirs*, and hence a *darbar* to supply the necessities of life to the nobles' wife and family, the officers employed, the *emirs*, and with *emirs* and *emirs* attended contributions for the feed of the cattle."*Ibid.*, p. 242.

3. According to Koser, Bahadur Shah assumed this title in rule of his mother Nurshah. "This lady was the daughter of a *hazrat* named Salwat Mir Mirza, who disappeared after marrying a daughter of the *Emir* of Cashmere. This *Emir* adopted the children and brought them up as Hindus. Hence the lady who, by a singular accident, became the wife of Asangpurah as his youth, was as one brought of *Salwat* (supposed to mean the night he looked upon in Hindu). Her title, after her marriage was Nurshah Begam, a mark, perhaps, of her double nationality."

—Koser, *The Feroz in India*, p. 129 n.

—also followed in the footsteps of his elder brother Muhammad Asim, and got himself married in the wake of his father's death. According to Inayat Khan, 'Khan Bahadur was a prince of an excellent memory, was learned and a pleasing writer, possessed of all-round accomplishments in a high degree, but there was in his mind a slipshodness that approached to insanity. He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but for some misdeeds he was reproved, degraded or confined; some acts were done by him to persons which would be unworthy of me. What faults can he not be guilty of, from the madness of his mind and the confidence he put in lying viceroys?' . . . His flatterers having told him that his eldest son would also at some time become Emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated putting him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Asirangzeb: however, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the man of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death. From the same cause of ill-considered suspicions, he inflicted torture and unceremonious punishments, on the ladies of his harem, putting many of them privately to death. To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eyes never saw nor ear heard.'¹

The story of his rebellion may be briefly told in the words of

Translation of Khan Bahadur	of Khan Bahadur. When the news of Asirangzeb's death reached him, Khan Bahadur was engaged in the capture of Bhopur from its commander Nizam Khan. 'Nizamangzeb was opened, and through the mistakes and shrewd management of Asim Khan, the key of the fortress was given up by Sayyid Nizam Khan who retired to the Prince and made submission. At the end of two months the city and revenues were brought into a state of order. Asim Khan was made Bahadur, and the postoffice of war was given to Bahadur Nizam, with the title of Tahir Khan. Other officers were rewarded, with pearls and robes. The Prince then assumed the throne. He was crowned in the Masjid under the title of <i>Shahanshah</i> (Emperor of Forts), and even then was aided with the title . . .' ²
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¹ Khan Bahadur, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 302.

² *See* *Doab Dastan* for *Khawab-i-Mah* (Fairyland from Baghdad—Baghdad).

³ 'In the South place was on one (—mughl) and given (—shah) the Emperor Khan Bahadur, Emperor of the North.'—*Ibid.*, op. cit., p. 51; see also, p. 5.

"A kind and interesting letter was addressed by the Emperor (Shah Akbar) to his brother Muhammad Khan Bahadur to the following effect:—
 "Our letter intimated you with the government of the robe of Empire; we now relinquish to you the government of the two robes of Empire and Macedonia; and all these subjects and belongings, upon the condition, according to the old rule of the Dailies, that the robe shall be stuck and the *Makha* used in our name. The tribute which has been historic paid by the governors of the two provinces we again," —(To the last letter, the students pause with a quivering lip, and pause in the storm of his rebellion. So the man had once more to be decapitated by the achievement of the sword.) Khan Bahadur advanced until he was only two or three feet from Macedonia. His small force now consisted only of — a few bold companions (his whole army having "drifted away through his violent Macedonia madness") who would not leave him and three or four hundred horse. The action given to Bahadur Khan's companions was that they were not to draw on a fight, but to surround Khan Bahadur so that he should not be killed, and the blood of Macedonia should not be spilt. —(But) And their Khan had an old-standing aversion of Khan Bahadur, and repeatedly urged Khalkidhara to attack. Khan Bahadur, with a heart full of fear and hope, stood on, rejecting the onslaught. —The drivers and others on his elephant fell wounded one after the other. He then drove the animal forward, but fell on the ground wounded with balls and arrows. The elephant ran off into the country, but was caught by a party of Mahomedans, and the French became a prisoner. All the men of Khan Bahadur who fought near his elephant were killed. —Khan Bahadur and his two sons, all desperately wounded, were taken to Khalkidhara, and placed near the royal tent. *Scoundrels* and *thick scoundrels* were appointed to attend them. Khan Bahadur rejected all treatment, and refused to take the broth prepared for his food.

In the evening the King went to see his brother. He sat down

by his side, and took the cloak from his own back, and covered him who lay dejected and listless.

Depositing, fallen from throne and fortune. He showed him the greater kindness, asked him about his state, and said, "I never wished to see you in this condition." Khan Bahadur replied, "Neither did I wish that one of the race of Timur should be made prisoner with the imputation of cowardice and want of spirit." The King gave him two or three spoonfuls of broth with his own hands, and then departed with his eyes full of tears. Three or four weeks afterwards, Khan Bahadur and one of his sons named Fuzumand died. Both corpses were sent to Delhi, to be interred near the tomb of Humayun.¹

1. E. & B. pp. 411, 412, 413-414. For variants of details see Irvine, pp. 411, p. 412.

Durand-ul-Khan, who like Khafi Khan was present in the Camp, has the following comment on the date of Khan Bahadur's death:—

Khafi's death on Jilwa, a week after "Khan Bahadur" died Khan Bahadur; *Muz*, a is a true mis-spelled *Khan*, that has most written I am *Khafi*.

"That system was done, and the date was 'Khan Bahadur's only parent (AD) was death' He died, and in that way fulfilled desire (Jilwa). Thus was the name-spring word revealed."¹ The death of Khan Bahadur occurred in January 1710 AD. Irwin mentions on the authority of the historians that his grandson, through his second son, was killed in the struggle later in Durr Janes II (20 Bahr II, 1172 A.D.)² The letter on (I, p. 246) he gives the name title to Salim M. Ibrahim, son of Bahadur Khan, son of Bahadur Khan. Strongly enough, another writer has observed this date as Bahadur's death, while a third assigns it to Bahadur Durrani.³

II RELATIONS WITH THE RAJPUTS

When Aurangzeb hastened to the south in pursuit of his rebellious son Aligar, he had secured no permanent peace, as we have seen, in Rajasthan. The Mughals could never thoroughly suppress the incursions and forays of the Rathors while Aurangzeb was pre-occupied with his Deccan wars. "From the time of Jawant Singh's death," writes Irwin, "and Aurangzeb's hasty attempt to seize his son (Ajit Singh), down the alienation of the Rajput clans, whose loyalty had been so wily and gradually lessened for many years by the tolerant measures of Aligar and his two successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan. As soon as Aurangzeb, their oppressor, had expired, Ajit Singh collected his men, issued from his retreat and ejected the Muhammadans from Jodhpur and regulated to send an embassy to the new sovereign. It was with this state of things that Bahadur Shah had now to deal."⁴

The Rajputs were determined 'to free their idols, for the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods' In other words, they fought for (1) the abolition of jizya, (2) the freedom of worship, and (3) the independence of Rajasthan. Khafi Khan records the Imperial view of the situation thus:—

"Towards the end of the year 1118 the Emperor marched from Agra,

1. "The play upon Khan Bahadur (fulfiller of desire) is almost untranslatable."—*Ibid.*, p. 46.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 46; also Irwin, *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 40.

3. See *Khafi* and *Muz*, *A History of the Mughal Rule in India* pp. 246, 247; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 407.

4. Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

with the intention of chastising the Rajputs in the vicinity of Jaipur and Jodhpur. From the reports of the intermediaries of the province of Agra, and the promises received Jodhpur, the following notices became known to His Majesty . . . Raja Ajit Singh . . . and sent all his allegiance to the late Emperor, and done every improper things. After the death of Aurangzeb he again showed his disobedience and rebellion by supporting Mughlana, beholding the killing of cows, preventing the muzzoon to pray, razing the mosques which had been built after the destruction of the Mughltemples in the late reign, and repairing and building new obelisks. He warmly supported and assisted the army of the King of Udaipur, and was closely allied with Raja Jai Singh, whose marriage he was. He had raised his qualification so far that he had not attended at Court since the accession. On the 10th Jachin (20th 1707) the Emperor marched to punish this rebel and his tribe, by way of Auster, the native land of Jai Singh, between Ajaier and Chetar.¹

Raja Anwar Singh of Udaipur averted the threatened blow by sending his brother, Baidi Singh, to Agra with a letter of congratulation, 100 gold coins, 1000 rupees, two horses with gold mounted trappings, an elephant, nine swords, and other productions of his country. Jodhpur, the storm centre of the trouble, was ordered to be besieged, and Auster, the capital of the Kachinistan, was annexed. (January, 1708) through Jaur (April, 1708) it was made over to Raja Singh, the younger brother of Jai Singh (the warlike ruler).² The title of Miral Raja was conferred upon the new prince. The march towards Jodhpur in the mountains continued. Soon after news arrived of (1) the flight of Raja Anwar Singh of Udaipur, and (2) of the rebellion of Prince Khat Bakhsh. The latter event has already been dealt with above. After the fall of Malwa Ajit Singh capitulated. Between 10th March and 31st April, 1708, the title of Mahabadi and the rank of 3500 and 3000 horse, a standard, and battle-drums, were conferred upon him, with other honours for his four sons. "The difficulty with Jodhpur being due to all appearances, satisfactorily disposed of, the Emperor retraced his steps from Maratha and returned to Agra." Suitable gifts were sent to Raja Anwar Singh (who had fled) through his brother Baidi Singh with a reassuring letter bidding him not to be frightened but remain in peace in his own abode.

On 30th April, when the Emperor was marching north against

¹ E. A. G. op. cit., VII, pp. 494-95.

² In the battle of Jodhpur, Raja Singh had fought on the side of Bahadur Shah and Jai Singh for Ajaier. The latter, however, had deserted Ajaier before the close of the battle.

Kam Baksh, it was again suggested that Mahdaro Ajit Singh, Raja Jai Singh Kachhroha, and Durgadas Rithor—who had been obliged to follow the camp—had fled. But the suspicions of the stationers compelled Bahadur Shah to concentrate on the greater challenge from the south. All efforts made by the Imperial officers in the north having proved ineffective against the combination of the Rajput princes, consultative measures were for the time being adopted by Bahadur Shah. "On the 6th Oct. 1708, on the recommendation of prince Azam ul-din, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh were restored to their rank in the Mughal service." When the Emperor returned north, after the defeat of Kam Baksh, on 21st June 1710, the two Rajas were brought to him by Mahabat Khan, son of the viceroy Murad Khan. "To show how little the Rajas trusted the solemn promises made to them that they would be treated well," writes William Irvine (from whom the above account has been abstracted) "I may quote the last remarked by Kamwar Khan, the historian, who was present at the return of Prince Rahmatshah. Beyond the four Princes (sons of Bahadur Shah) and the great nobles there was no one else with the Emperor at the time. Kamwar Khan, while the interview was proceeding, saw that all the hills and plains round them were full of Rajputs. There were several thousand men on ranch borders in the hills. On each ranch rode two or even three men, fully armed with match-lock or bow and arrow. Evidently they were prepared to sell their lives dearly in defence of their chieftains, if there was any attempt at treachery."¹

¹ Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 35. The report of Khán Khán on the return of the Rajput ambassadors is thus fully corroborated. Ajit Singh and his eldest Rajas, according to him, "knew that submission and obedience alone could save them and their families and property" so he submitted himself to Khán-Khán and his son Khán-Khán, expressing his sincere humility and obedience, and he sent a message humbly asking that Khán-Khán and the Imperial forces come into Jodhpur to rebuild the mosques, destroy the idol-temples, remove the pretensions of the Jais about the necessity to prayer and the killing of cows, to suppress treachery and to commission officers to collect the taxes. His submission was graciously accepted, and his requests granted. Officers of justice, Khán-Khán, soldiers, and musicians (singing to prayers) were stationed at Jodhpur and other towns in the country. Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, with the attendance of Durgawal, who was the very soul of the rebellion, came to Court at Agra in hope of receiving pardons for their offences, and each was honoured with the gift of a robe, elephant, etc.—*ib. id. op. cit.*, VII, p. 402.

That the price was not so humiliating to the Rajputs as indicated by the following account given by Khán-Khán is clear. When he was on his march against Chhatrapati, he had endeavoured to make a settlement

III. RELATIONS WITH THE MARATHAS

The importance of the Mughal-Maratha relations in the reign of Bahadur Shah consists primarily in two happenings: (1) the release of Shihru' from Mughal captivity, and (2) the Imperial recognition of the Marathe claims to Chaur and Sardashevahle in the Deccan. Regarding the former it is necessary to correct the mistake committed by V. A. Smith in the following statement: "Bahadur Shah, in writing 'order on the annual release of Zulfikar Khan, released Shihru (Group III), the great Serdp's grandson, who had been educated at Court, and sent him back to his own country, then under the government of Taji Bha, the widow of the young serdar's uncle, Rājā Bha. The expected civil war among the Marathas which ensued prevented them from troubling the Imperial Government, thus satisfying Zulfikar Khan's request."¹

Shihru was not in Bahadur Shihru custody, but in Asangzeb's camp at the time of the latter's death. Asang Shihru took Shihru with him when he marched north towards the capital. He was released by Asang, no doubt as suggested by Rā-i-Shah Khān, in May 1707, at Dornah (near Narnapur, north of the Panipat), before the battle of Jajaur. Khān Khān notes mention of this in the following terms: "Zulfikar Khān Nurwat Jang was very intimate with Shihru grandson of Serdp and had long been interested in his affairs. He now persuaded Asang Shihru to set this Shihru at liberty, along with several persons who were his friends and companions. . . . Many Marhatta soldiers, who through necessity had recently joined themselves to the part of Rājā Taji Bha, widow of Rājaram, now came and joined Rājā Shihru."²

Rājaram had demanded from Asangzeb the release of Shihru

of his daughter with the Rajputs. He had entered into a treaty with the Shah of Oudh, ordering all company reinforcements required for the forcing on which they stood in Akbar's camp, releasing the Shah from the obligation to furnish a contingent in the Deccan, etc., in fact "recognising his entire independence in everything but the name." (Fad's *Biographies*, Vol. I, p. 392.) "When Bahadur Shah returned north, after the defeat of Rājā Shihru, he was faced with a new problem: the Shihru thing; and hence, according to Kishnamoon, "All these (Mughal) demands were agreed to, and they were probably left on the march leading to the Shah of Oudh."—*History of India*, pp. 217-218.

1. "Next to the great Imperial Shihru, Shihru has played the most important part in the development of the Maratha State."—*Sevika, The Maratha Currents of Maratha History*, p. 97.

2. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 425.

3. E. & D., no. 19, 711, p. 282.

at a condition of peace, but Aungmye had refused to set him at liberty.¹ Now the exigencies of the situation made such an act politic and expedient. Tada Uda, who was the soul of the Manichaean resistance, had been fighting after all for the ascendancy of his own son. The release of Shaha was therefore calculated to involve Mökchéshin in a civil war. This was extremely desirable, inasmuch as the Minghai Princes and the Imperial armies were engaged in the fight for the throne. "Thus Shihai released" argued Zai-lü Kuan, "would be a more potent weapon against the Manichaeans than Shihai in captivity."² As a condition of his release, however, Shihai had agreed to rule as a feudatory of Aungmye Shih and to leave behind him as hostages his mother, Yashihü his wife, his mother-in-law (Yinshai), and his dispendent half brother Maichung. "On the other hand Aungmye Shih had granted Shihai the Serdärkhakkhi and the Chakhi over the six Dzunak tribes (Khindakh, Bazar, Aungmyed, Bazar, Haidarabad of Gollunda, and Bujper). Shihai was also appointed governor of Gansuana, Guxert and Targen (during good behaviour).³ When Baidar Shih accepted the throne, Shihai sent his wife, Yashihü; Shomda, to the Imperial Court to pay his homage, and the new Emperor confirmed him in his possessions and created him amirshah of ten thousand horse.⁴ Tada Uda disputed the legitimacy and claims of Shihai before the Imperial Court, through Maichü Khün, and "asked for a female in the name of her son, granting the nine equesters (per cent.) of the serdärkhakkhi, without any reference to the chakhi, for which he would suppress other manichaeans and restore order in the country." Serdärkhakkhi dükü Zai-lü Kuan took the side of Shihai Shih, and a great consultation upon the matter arose between the two ministers. The King, in his extreme good nature, had resolved in his heart that he would not reject the petition of any one, whether of low or high

1. *Extremal and Perseus, A History of the Manichaean People*, II, p. 28.

2. *Shihai, The Son of the Phoenix*, pp. XII-XIII.

3. *Extremal and Perseus*, op. cit., III, 122-23.

4. Shihai, being brought up in the Minghai camp, disgusted from the Christian attitude of his father and grandfather (see *Shihai*, op. cit., p. 28), and to prove his loyalty to the Emperor, sent a Manichaean contingent, under Maichü Khün, to aid Baidar Shih in his fight against Khan Baidar. (*Shihai*, op. cit., p. 125-126.)

5. *Shihai*, VIII, Documents 22-27. Shihai's grandfather had asked for a female belonging to him, the serdärkhakkhi and chakhi of the six tribes of the Dzunak, "in compensation of restoring property to the retired land."—Kuan Khün, II & III, op. cit., VII, p. 428.

degree. The complaints and denials made their statements to His Majesty; and although they differed as much as morning and evening, each was accepted, and an order of content was given. So in this matter of the *arshinskaiski*, justice was directed to be given in compliance with the requests both of Morozov Kolia and Zolotar Kolia; but in consequence of the quarrel between these two nobles, the orders about the *arshinskaiski* remained inoperative."

IV. RELATIONS WITH THE SIKHS

In the last chapter we brought the history of the Sikhs down to the death of Duro Gavril, the tenth and last Gura, who had for some strategic or other reason submitted to Bahadur Kolia as the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 228. In this connection it is interesting to note the following observations in the *Tsarski-Istoriia Kolia*, though the reader must be warned against accepting anything contrary to the above account. — Towards the close of the thirteenth (Kharagovskii) century, a treaty was concluded with the Mongols, on these terms, viz. that § 1 p. 2, out of the revenues drawn from the Imperial domains in the Dakhia should be allotted to them by way of *arshinskaiski* and *soyuz*; only Kolia Kolia commonly called *old Kolia*, set out from the threshold of loyalty with the determined intention the grant to the Mongols, in order that, after the treaty had been duly ratified, he might bring the death of that ruler to the onset of the masters of the world. However, before he had had time to deliver these documents into their custody, a royal mandate was issued, directing him to return and being told the papers in question with him. About this time, His Majesty Aurangzeb Akbar happened to the several gardens of Faraman, at which, passed by emperor Shah Akbar (Bahadur Kolia) was granted the Dakhia with this promise. The letter dated 10 p. c. out of the province belonging to the province of *arshinskaiski* on the *Arshinskai*, and furnished them with the necessary documents confirming the grant.

"When Shah Akbar returned from the Dakhia to the metropolis, Duro Kolia remained behind to affiliate his daughter among Zolotar Kolia as the government of the province. He cultivated a good understanding with Morozov, and concluded an amicable treaty on the following footing, viz. that in addition to the above-mentioned grant of Kolia as *arshinskaiski*, a fourth of military reward was collected in the country should be their property, while the other three-fourths should be paid to the royal exchequer. The system of taxation was accordingly put in practice; but no regular dividend (resulting the fourth share, which in the district of the Dakhia is called *chank*, was delivered to the Mongols." *E. & D.*, op. cit., VII, pp. 228-29. Kharagovskii observes, "Bahadur was not well at this time, was anxious that peace should be concluded with him (Duro), at the price of the conditions formerly offered by Aurangzeb." When Bahadur left for the Court, putting Duro Kolia in charge of the Dakhia, the latter "followed up the traces of his principal, and concluded a peaceful agreement with him, promising that the third (or fourth) should be paid while he remained in office, but stipulating that it should be collected by agents of his own, without the interference of the Mongols."—*Kharagovskii*, op. cit., pp. 228-27.

later's struggle against his rebellious brothers.¹ Whatever the circumstances attending the murder of Gura Gervasi,² it is certain that he had extremely succeeded in 'teaching the apocryphal to strike the eagle': he had effectively roused the dormant energies of a *qāw* quashed people and filled them with a jolly although fatal longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts of that unity of worship which had been posessed by Nizam.³ He had lost all his children in the struggle and at the time of his death (1790) entrusted the *Shahis* to God, the overruling. He inculcated on his followers: "He who wishes to behold the Gura, let him seek the Gura of Kāshmir. The Gura will dwell with the *Kāshmir*: be firm and be faithful: whenever five *Shahs* are gathered together there will I also be present."⁴

The leadership of the *Shahs* after this was assumed by an adventurer whose origin and personality are a subject of controversy. "On the death of Gervasi," says Irvine, "his family and followers brought forward a man, who exactly resembled the deceased. It is not very clear who this man was: he is generally spoken of as *Banda* (the slave), or as the *Fakir Gura*. . . . Some say he was a *Bandi* (slave) . . . who for many years had been the intimate friend of Gura Gervasi." Whatever may be the truth as to his origin and antecedents, concludes Irvine, "this man was now sent off secretly from the *Dakhn* to Hindustan. At the same time letters were written to the *Parajah*, informing the *darogah*, that their Gura had been slain in the Emperor's camp by the dagger of an *Afghan*. But not before his death, their leader had announced that in a short time, through the power of transmigration, he would appear again clothed with sovereignty, and whenever he should raise the standard of independence, they would by joining him secure prosperity in this world and salvation in the next."⁵

Banda, taking advantage of the distracted state of the Empire, soon became a terror to the *Mirashikans* as the *Parajah*, especially in

1. Irvine notes that Gura Gervasi joined *Bahadur Shah* when he was travelling "down country from Lahore, to Agra, to collect the tribute with his brother, Azim Shah." Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 89. According to other accounts, the Gura persecuted *Bahadur Shah* while he was marching north against his youngest brother Kāshmir *Bahadur*. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 118.

2. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 91. See "Last Days of Gura Gervasi" by Gopal Singh in *J. I. H.*, XII, pt. 1 (April 1918).

3. See Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, pp. 106 to 107 and 111.

4. Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

Shang. It was to crush this danger that threatened the very heart of the Empire, that Hsinshih Shih left compelled to conclude his hostilities with the Kipchaks, and hasten farther north. An *Choulin* *Peusin* puts it, "This barbarian, whom nature had formed for a battle, trusting to the numbers and repeated success of these other battles he commanded, had inflicted upon God's creatures cruelties exceeding all belief, and had laid waste the whole province of Lohon. Flushed with these victories, he even aspired to a crown." At Lo-gan-shi Bando tried to assume something of royal state. He was the *Sarkh Fakhsh* or *Yekshah* Sovereign, his daughters all Singhs, or *lases*. A new form of greeting, *Fakh davis* (May you behold victory?), was invented and Muhammadans were slightly called *Muslim*. Coin was struck in the new sovereign's name. One side bore the *lase*.

Shahat not der her de elen leg-i-Namsh Fakh at,

Fakh Gayald Shakh-shaham Jakh-Sarkh Sarkh at

The *lase*, an obvious mistake of the transcribers on the Maghal coin, seems to mean 'Fakh Gavid, king of kings, struck coin in the two worlds; the sword of Shagh at the gateway of desires, by grace he is the veritable Lord!'"

Various attempts made by Imperial officers to capture the *Yekshah* ended in failure. One such action under the command of no less a person than the *Khala-khalan*, *Muzun Khan*, is worthy of notice. *Khati Khan* writes:

"After repeated battles, in which many men were killed on both sides, the soldiers were detained, and invested to a fortress in the hills called *Loigash* which is near the hills belonging to the *Sarkh* *Shih* (the King), and fortified themselves. The *Guns* of the fort were and are equipped, his soldiers to ascend by scaling them that those who should feel fighting heavily on the field of battle would rise in a state of youth in an everlasting assistance in a more rapid position. . . . Continued fighting went on and numbers fell. The provisions in their fortress were killed and the soldiers bought what they could from the *gala*-*lases* with the royal store, and pulled it up with ropes. . . . The soldiers were so gaily merry when one of them, a man of the *Khala* tribe, and a *Yekshah* by trade resolved to murder him for the good of his religion.

1. *Sydney-Smithiana*, p. 78.

2. *Index* op. cit., p. 115. "Not content with supremacy in the State, he also desired, as other monarchs have done, to be glorified generally. By his order all names in Hind and Persia having *Yekshah* terminations were changed into the preceding form! The *Yekshahs*, *Yekshahs* (in *Yekshah*), and *Kachah* (*Yekshah* in *Yekshah*) were pronounced by him and his *Shih* *Yekshah* and *Kachah*."—*Ibid.*, p. 111.

He dressed in the fine garments of the Court and went and waited himself at the Gate's door. Then the Gate went forth with his seven lads through the royal lane, and made off to the mountains of the Black Hills.

'The seven troops entered the fort, and, finding the ruler Goro straggling in state, they made him prisoner, and carried him to Khun-Muwan. When was the rejoicing that followed, the men who took the news to the Emperor received presents, and great commendation was bestowed on Khun-Muwan! The prisoner was taken before Khun-Muwan, and the truth was then discovered: the book had flown and its roll had been caught! (1710)

'Khun-Muwan was greatly vexed. He severely reprimanded his officers, and ordered them all to dismount and march on foot into the hills at the Black Hills. If they caught the Goro, they were to take him prisoner alive; if they could not, they were to take the Black Hills and bring him to the prisoner. So the Hills were made prisoner and brought to the royal camp instead of the Goro. Goro's soldiers were then ordered to make an iron cage. This cage became the lot of the Black Hills and of that Siki who so devotedly sacrificed himself for his Goro: he was placed in it, and went west to the foot of Siki!'

Bandi could not be captured during the life time of Baidai.

Siki. ^{was} ^{dead} The Emperor's important rage was vent-
ed upon Khun-Muwan, who died shortly after
the disgrace that attended the discovery.

Baidai Siki, in his mad search after the Siki Leader, ordered that all Echaris and Jits in his army, at the Court, and in public offices, should shave off their beards! 'A great many of them thus had to submit to what they considered the disgrace of being shaven, and for a few days the barbers were busy. Some men of name and position committed suicide to save the honour of their beards!'

The Siki continued to grow strong during the period of confusion that surrounded the death of Baidai Siki (1712) and later. Bandi was not captured until after the accession of the Emperor Fench'ng-tyan (1715); but we might carry on the story of the Siki rebellion to its tragic close, viz., the execution of Bandi and his wretched followers. The *Story of Arakshawa* gives the following account of this:—

'On the accession of Fench'ng-tyan, Jishi Khin (vicar of Lohu) received orders to destroy those Daoistries, but he was totally defeated in a pitched battle, and after losing the greater part of his men, he retired to Lohu covered with disgrace. Bandi stated by no other

¹ Bandi will shed the responsibility attending the flight of Siki's troops, Aug.

² *E. A. B. op. cit.*, VII, pp. 498-99.

³ 'The 100 Siki the shaving of hair from any part of their body is religiously forbidden.' *Ibid.*, p. 498.

joined a column, recommenced his march with additional fury. The invaders having reached the capital, the emperor commanded Abdul-Kader to lead a French detachment, the vanguard of Daoud, to march against the Sikhs, and at the same time confirmed the Government of Lahore to his son, Zakhirah Khan. The general, who afterwards became so famous and well known, several commanders of high distinction, with guns, &c. Abolished Khan who waited only for a train of artillery, proceeded to Lahore. On coming up with the enemy, the troops fell with such fury upon their barbarians that they completely crushed them, nor did the expenditure get over the pursuit until they had entirely pursued the enemy. Daoud stood his ground as first, and fought desperately, but although brave and vigorously pursued, he retired from post to post, like a seraph of the wilderness, and while losing his own men, he sustained heavy loss to his persons. At last, worn out by incessant flight, he retired to Goordaspore. The imperial general had step to the place, nor was it furnished with provisions, though the abundance that had previously returned rather was so considerable. The hospitals, however, were so violent that not a blade of grass nor a pint of grain could find its way into the lot, so that at last, the troops were wholly being exhausted, a famine commenced its ravage among the troops, who contrary to the prohibition of their religious ate meat, bones, and even man; and such was the desperate position of the parties, that no one talked of surrender, till having sustained all that could be converted into food and having suffered from a bloody flux that broke out among them, the survivors asked for quarters and offered to open their gates. The imperial general required them to repair to an eminence where they were asked to deposit their arms. The immediate weakness, reduced to comply with these conditions, ordered to it, when, having been bound hand and foot, they were made over to the troops, who had orders to carry them down to a river that ran under the walls and deaths to throw the bodies, after having beheaded the prisoners. The officers being put in rows, were mounted upon lances, were down, many axes and swords, with each of them a paper cap upon his head, and with each a banner the general entered the city of Lahore in triumph. Amongst the prisoners was Bhandi, with his hair covered with black, and a wooden cap placed on his head. The wound having been brought before the emperor, was referred to the court, when he was shut up with his son, and two or three of his chief commanders. The others were carried (a hundred every day) to the town-hall, where they were beheaded until the whole number of them was completed. What a spectacle! Poor people not only beheaded publicly during the execution, but they contended for the honour of being first executed.

At length Bhandi himself was produced, and his son being placed on his lap, the father was ordered to cut

Bhandi's own his throat, which he did without uttering one word. His flesh was then ordered to be torn

all with red-hot powers, and it was in those tempests that he appeared, expiating by his death, in some measure, the enormities he had himself committed on the people of God.

"Mahmoud Amin-Khan, struck with the appearance of Barak¹, could not help addressing him: "It is surprising that one who shows so much wisdom in his countenance, and has displayed so much ability in his conduct, should have been guilty of such heinous crimes, that must infallibly run him in this world as well as in the next." With the greatest composure he replied, "I will tell you what, my lord, whenever man becomes so corrupt and wicked, as to relinquish the path of equity, and to abandon themselves to all kinds of crimes, then Providence never fails to raise up a scourge like me, to chastise a race become so depraved; but when the message of punishment has been filed, then he raises such a man as you, to bring him to punishment."²

V. CONCLUSION

Bahadur Shah's was the last reign that is remembered of the glories of the Great Mughals, after him came the Nightfall of the Empire and the role of 'her sister dance.' The reign was short, lasting only about five years (4 years and 2 months, according to Kafil Khan),³ but in foreign relations it was marked by a statesmanship greater than his father's. His treatment of the Rajputs and the Marathas was certainly wiser than that of Aurangzeb. He had won over Guru Govind, as Aurangzeb might have Shivaji, if he had been wiser. It is vain to speculate how he would have treated Barak if he had been really captured. But then the effects of growing unity were already visible.⁴ Otherwise Shah Alam's rule was marred by a sunny and liberal but not unworthy of a descendant of the great Akbar. But these traits, unfortunately, were losing on the side of weakness with the increasing weight of years, until about the 75th Maharram, 1123 (Feb. 18, 1711 a.d.)⁵ when the Emperor had passed his 75th lunar year, there was a great change

1. *Siyah-namah*, pp. 75-76.

2. Kafil Khan, op. cit. p. 428. See n. 1, next p.

3. The alleged order to kill all the dogs in his range to drive all the Hindus, and cage the Emperor Barak and the Shah Kila, are all inventions of this.

4. See R. & D., op. cit. VII, p. 428 s. The Tadhkirah Chaghati and *Siyah-namah* make p. 1134, 14, giving Bahadur Shah a leave of six lunar year. I have printed the latter date.—Irvine, op. cit., p. 122.

propable in him, and in 24 hours it was evident that he was marked for death. . . . On the night of the 28th of the month (30 the Emperor died), and was buried near the tomb of Ruffard Shu, near or five *li* from Delhi. He had reigned four years and two months. At the end of the four years the treasury of thirteen *hau* of rases, to which he succeeded, had all been given away. The income of the Empire during his reign was insufficient to meet the expenses, and consequently there was great parsimony shown in the Government establishments, but especially in the royal household, so much so that money was received every day from the treasury of Prince Anan-shi Shih to keep things going.¹

Bahadur Shih had under him some able officers who would have made a mark in any age. Foremost

Amid Officers among these was the prime-minister Miran

Khin, whose services in the war of succession

have already been recounted. KASS KHIN says, 'He was a man reduced to Sulam, and was a friend to the poor. During all the time of his power he gave to no one.' He died in the same year as Bahadur Shih, in consequence of the treatment he received for his failure to capture Danda. IRDIN KHIN records, 'He lost all satisfaction in worldly enjoyments, the enjoyment of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disgrace confined in health, so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, when he lingered a few days, and then resigned his soul to the angel of death (1124 A.M., 1712 A.D.), who never in the unassuming age of his office tested on a soul more pure and less defiled with the frailties of human nature.'²

Of like reputation and standing was GHASID-DIN KHIN FIRST JANG, "who had acquired a most powerful influence at the Doldin, and was chief of the Tardai Maghala. . . . He was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly per-

1. IRDIN KHIN gives the date of the Emperor's death as 1124 A.M. 1712 Feb. 1712—C. & D., op. cit. VII, p. 244.

2. KASS KHIN, op. cit., 228-29.

3. Ibid., p. 426. 'But' as the next chronicler observes, 'the best intentions are perverted into wrong deeds. Miran Khin was ambitious to build roads and temples in every city. The execution of this scheme involved fearful expatriation of private property. . . . Thousands of Hindustanis, Barmis and Hindus were thus driven, robbed and wronged, not of their old homes, as it happened at Badkshan and at Kabul.'—Ibid., pp. 428-30.

4. Ibid., p. 244.

over the mind of man." Khalf Khān also speaks in equal praise of his : "Gulshāh dān Khān," he says, "was a man born to victory, and a disciplinarian who always prevailed over his enemy. A noble man of such rank and power, and yet so gentle and pleasant spoken has rarely been seen or heard of among the men of Turān." From the Deccan, when Zai-Nār Khān took charge of that province, Gulshāh dān was transferred to Akandahād, where his death occurred. He is to be remembered especially as the father of his great famous son, Chirāgh Khān, the future Mulūk-i Mulk and founder of the present Akandahād State.

The *Shah-i-Mashriq* gives a good account of the other important nobles, and also of how the Emperor's good nature was suited to the touch of absolutism. "Zai-Nār Khān, the generalissimo, was honoured with the title and office of *Amir-i-umrah*, and appointed viceroy of the Deccan, comprehending all the provinces already conquered or to be conquered hereafter. This was a charge of vast importance, for which he was eminently qualified, for no other man at that time could have been able to rule countries so newly conquered and so refractory. The new viceroy, after having settled in his mind the military and financial affairs of his Government, returned to court; leaving left as his lieutenant an Afghan soldier, called Dilāz-Khān Pān, a man famed in those countries for his valour, his bodily strength, and his personal prowess; and who had rendered himself of so much importance, that there were no noblemen in (the Deccan) who could be compared with him. He was made the director of all political affairs, as also of the finance department, with full liberty to undertake any military expedition which he should deem advisable. Zai-Nār Khān, after having used his mind of so great a burden, went to Court, where he applied himself sedulously in order to introduce order through every part of the empire.

"The provinces of Bengal, Orissā, Aundahād (Pāna) and Daulahād, had hitherto been governed by *Aksh-i-shāh*, the emperor's second son, and it was thought proper to continue these provinces under the same administration; an arrangement which put it in that prince's power to reward two distinguished soldiers who had rendered him most important services, and had distinguished themselves in the great battle of Aghar Khān (Jagat). These were Sa'id Aksh-i-Khān and Sa'id Husayn Aksh-i-Khān,¹ sons of the famous Sa'id Aksh-i-Khān, so much revered at *Aghar* under the name of *Sa'id-Khān*. On the other, Aksh-i-Khān he conferred the Government of Daulahād, and he gave that of Aundahād (Pāna) to the younger, Husayn-Aksh-i-Khān. At the same time Jalal-Khān was entrusted with the provinces of Bengal and Orissā, in which

1. *Ibid.*, p. 423.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 423.

3. There were the famous *Sajad Brothers* who were seen to play the rôle of Kingmakers.

he had actually acted as minister of finance. After those arrangements the prince took up his residence at his father's court where he received great influence.¹

The services of these able men were unfortunately neutralized by Hsüeh-shan Shih's very good nature. "The Emperor Shih's emperor, who was exceedingly good-natured, continued the same work," and paid even to a fault having remembered a vow which he had once made to the Creator of all things, that if ever he should ascend the throne he would never deny any man's request, now vowed to act up to the letter of this vow. Accordingly, disputes, trials, and employments were granted so indiscriminately, that they lost much of their value, and ceased to be desired marks of favour or distinction.²

Emperor Shih, like his prime-minister Ma-shan K'ia, had strong Shih inclinations. The effect of these on the vast masses of the Szechuan populace are indicated by an incident thus described by K'ia K'ia. —

The emperor of the world and in the Szechuan had given great offence to the religious leaders of Lachon, and the order for it issued by Hsüeh-shan Shih had remained a dead letter. An order was now given that these religious men should be brought into the royal presence. Hsüeh-shan Shih — and three or four other learned men of repute, seated upon the Majesty in the palace. They were told to be seated. After much discussion Hsüeh-shan Shih gave words as replying to the Emperor, and spoke in a presumptuous, unbecoming manner. The Emperor got angry, and asked him if he was not afraid to speak in this bold and unbecoming way in the presence of a King. The Hsüeh-shan Shih replied, "I hope for few things from my lordship's Grace: 1. Acquisition of knowledge. 2. Preservation of the Word of God. 3. The Pigeonage. 4. Mortification. Thanks be to God that of His bounty away are few things. Mortification remains, and I am hopeful that by the kindness of the great King I may obtain that." The discussion went on for several days. A great many of the noblemen of the city, in agreement with a party of Szechuan, formed a league of more than hundred thousand persons, who secretly supported Hsüeh-shan Shih. From Lachon also secretly gave

1. *Shih-shan Shih*, pp. 14-15 (Bibliography).

2. For example: were Ch'ien-shan Shih, one of the daykeepers, who applied for a title was honoured with that distinction by the King's own private order — and he accordingly became known henceforth by the title of Lord Day-keeper to the great astonishment of the world, and was pointed at as he passed through the streets, people saying to each other, "There goes my Lord Day-keeper," till at length he was instead to give money to people to relieve from molesting him on the highway, but it had little effect. — *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

his continuance in the party. At the end of Shawwal, the *Father* presented a petition on the subject of the *Alshra*, and on this His Majesty wrote with his own hand that the *Alshra* should be read in the town and during the reign of Aurangzeb. . . . After this the agitation ceased, but I have heard that *Shah* 'Alam and the other learned men, whom the Emperor was angry with, were sent to one of the fortresses.¹ *Shah* had been quoted at *Almashhad* and elsewhere for the attempt to write the new form of prayer.²

Balukdar Sahā's attitude towards the Christians and Europeans

was in keeping with his liberal outlook in all other matters. Even under Aurangzeb, despite his hostility, the Europeans had not suffered for as an account of their religion. "As the enemy of *Idol* and as a Muslim of the Muslims" observes Macleagan, "it was unlikely that Aurangzeb would display any personal interest in Christianity. Apart from this, the change of sovereign entailed no immediate change in the position which the Jesuits occupied at Court."³ Besides, several of the great nobles maintained friendly relations with the Jesuits. For example, when an order decree was given depriving the Jesuits of the estate of a deceased *Father*, they were enabled by Jafar Khan's help⁴ to obtain a reversal of the order from the King.⁵ But after the death of *Father* Basil (1687), owing to the increasing rigour of Aurangzeb's religious policy in general, there was a nearly complete cessation of the proselytizing activities of the *Fathers*.

When the *Jizya* was imposed upon all non-Muslims in 1679, a representation was made by the *Fathers*. "Interviews were sought with influential men in the city, and the Jesuits supported their requests with persons of conviction from Europe. Their efforts were so far successful that the tax at Agra, including arrears, was remitted by the local authorities, but in order to get the concession on a proper footing the Viceroy at *Qos* was urged to represent the matter to Aurangzeb himself." *Father* Mignalliere was deputed for the purpose, in 1685, and "the King acceded to his request that all Christians in the Empire should be exempted from the *Jizya*." Though the order was withheld down in practice by uncooperative officers, the exemptions specified in particular cases were continued

1. E. & B., op. cit., VII, 421-22.

2. *Ibid.* op. cit., p. 122.

3. "When Aurangzeb, for instance, went to Kashmir, soon after his accession, he desired that *Father* Basil should accompany him."—Macleagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 122.

4. *Ibid.*, also for other examples.

by Bahadur Shah on his accession in 1707. "Similar exemption was never granted by Farrukh-syar in 1718 and by Muhammad Shah in 1726 on the same ground, namely that the Fathers were Christian slaves (*jafril qawa jafil*). We have no record, however, of any confirmation of the general exemption of the Christian community."¹

Here we might also allude, though briefly, to the embassy that was sent to the Court of Bahadur Shah in 1711.

The Dutch Embassy by the Dutch East India Company at Surat 1697, 1711-12.

Through the mission in the end proved futile owing to the shifting of political sympathies, a reference to it is necessary for the very interesting part played under the Later Mughals by the Christian lady Donna Juliana Dias da Costa. The embassy was held by John James Kettelar. Its great success must in part be attributed to the good offices of the lady referred to. She was the daughter of a Portuguese doctor in the service of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah. After the death of her father, and her husband (who also seems to have held a similar office) Juliana continued to play an important rôle at the Mughal Court. She had served Bahadur Shah well even as a Prince, especially during the period of his captivity. Now she was appointed governess of the harem and commanded influence both over the Emperor and his Court. "She was given the 'rank of 4000': she obtained 8000 rupees per month and was able to bestow a lakh of rupees on the Jesuit Mission at Delhi. She was given the house of Dink Behich in that city, and the revenue of four villages in the neighbourhood. She had a following of five to ten thousand people and two elephants carrying two standards with white crosses on a red ground. She was also given special titles which are variously recorded as 'Khatun', 'Habi,' and 'Fakir Dargah Juliana.' The exemption from taxes alone referred to, granted to Christians, were obtained by her powerful mediation. She also gave strong support to the Portuguese interests during the period of her ascendancy," especially to the Portuguese Embassy which was sent to the Mughal Court under Father Jose da Silva."

When the Dutch Embassy came "Donna Juliana was woe that the Emperor would admit the error and all the Europeans to

1. *Madagascar, The Jesuits and the Great Mughals*, pp. 123-24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

refusals as soon as he pleased. . . . On the 20th (December 1711) Donna Juliana with some ladies of the Court visited them and requested the presents. She had been preceded by a dinner of fifty dishes from the Emperor's table and after dinner she treated them with courses of roasts and other rich profusionaries and presented hotel covered with gold and silver leaf. On the 21st a dinner was sent on a small but massive golden table, having in the centre a large vessel for vegetables, and all round it holes containing small dishes filled with delicate food, such as were prepared for the Emperor himself.¹ Not until the 27th February 1712, however, was anything achieved in the nature of real business and the army was getting anxious "to have that unwholesome climate" and return to Surat. But unfortunately, that very night the Emperor Bahadur Shah fell ill and died the next day (28th February 1712). The rest of the story may be very briefly told: Donna Juliana, wisely advised the embassy to take precautions for their safety, although most of their requests had been granted by the dying Emperor. "The Prince set their troops in motion and the roads to Lahore were rendered impassable by crowds of fugitives and their baggage." The next ruler, Jahandar Shah, no doubt, confirmed the grant of his father and wrote out a *farman* addressed to Abraham van Nieboeck, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies; but before the close of 1712 he was defeated and killed by Farrukh-siyar and the dead bodies of the late Emperor and his Prime Minister were paraded through the streets of Delhi. "After that revolution Jahandar Shah's *farman* went to much waste paper, and his reign was blotted out from the records of the Empire."²

¹ *ibid.*, pp. 146-147. ² *ibid.*, pp. 146-147. For the rest of the story of Donna Juliana, up to her death in 1714, see Henry, "Donna Juliana De Cysle, Her Influence in Later Mughal History," in *The Asiatic Review*, 1902, pp. 1-21.